# Indigenismo: The Guatemalan Experience

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Undertaking a study of Indigenismo whose roots extend to the very basis of Guatemalan culture brings one face to face with a myriad of issues and events often supercharged with emotion and surrounded by widely divergent political, social and economic views as well as national policy. In sorting through this multiplicity of viewpoints and convictions, the advice and enthusiastic support provided by the staff of the Instituto Indigenista Nacional Guatemalteca was invaluable. For the assistance made available to me by a Fulbright-Hays research fellowship I remain most appreciative. Lastly, I am indebted to my family for their unalterable support.

# CHAPTER I

## THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE

As a result of his famed adventures from 1519 to 1521, Hernán Cortés and his following of conquistadores and Indian allies had just solidified their supremacy over a portion of the Aztec empire in 1523 when reports from the south indicated that this control might be endangered. An Indian revolt south of Mexico City appeared a distinct possibility. Wishing to avoid this threat to the recently acquired Spanish hegemony, Cortés called upon Pedro de Alvarado, one of his most distinguished and trusted captains. On December 6, 1523 Alvarado departed Mexico, having been ordered by his commander to subjugate the cities of Iclaclan (Utatlan) and Iximche (Tecpan-Guatemala) and bring under Spanish control the Mayan city states which were threatening revolt.[1] Pedro de Alvarado was to accomplish this by peaceful means and in the process demand that the Indians accept the Christian faith.[2] Although subsequent events would demonstrate that Alvarado disobeyed his orders, this conquest being anything but a peaceful one, the nature and pattern of events which were to follow indicated that the Spanish were not without prior experience in such endeavors.[3]

Considerable practical knowledge of course had been gained in the conquest of the Aztecs. But beyond this Alvarado and his army entered

Guatemala with the benefit of knowledge gained from earlier Spanish experience in the West Indies. The institutions and concepts which would be utilized in subjugating the Indian populations of Guatemala to a large extent had been refined and modified earlier as a result of their experiences on Hispaniola.[4] The fact that these same practices and institutions were not accepted universally by all Spanish officials and clerics in both Spain and in the New World provided the basis for the first verbalizations of a series of ideas that would germinate centuries later into a philosophical framework called indigenismo.

Prior to the 1944 revolution indigenismo as a philosophical and ideological point of view in Guatemala was quite fragmented. There seemed to be as many expressions and definitions or explanations of indigenismo as there were adherents and supporters. For over four and one half centuries government officials, clerics and socio-political theorists, as well as journalists, novelists, travellers, and even presidents had expressed their particular views on the Indian, the Indian problem, and indigenismo. More often than not these ideas mirrored the social values attendant to the writer's historical period. What remained at the center of this ideological and literary corpus was the recognition that the Indian and his culture and traditions constituted a fundamental part of the Guatemalan experience whether as a Spanish colonial possession or as an independent nation. That the Indian remained apart from the mainstream of Guatemala as an exploited and therefore a disadvantaged

being, they felt, was unjust and represented a major problem in need of correction. Incorporation of the Indian was the answer. About this point, however, the prescriptions and remedies suggested by indigenistas were numerous and often contradictory depending upon the accepted social and political attitudes prevalent at the times the author wrote his remarks.

After 1944 indigenismo was manifested in Guatemala in an official government institution called the Instituto Nacional Indigenista Guatemalteca. More than any other single domestic factor in Guatemala between 1944 and 1953, this institutionalization of what for years had been a philosophical and ideological point of view brought organization to indigenismo. It became a complex persuasion that called for the full and complete integration and acculturation of the Indian into Guatemalan society which by definition included both Ladinos and Indians. This was to be accomplished with government programs and private efforts sponsored by the government to educate the Indian, to provide economic opportunity to the Indian by encouraging native industries and ultimately by agrarian reform and to provide political opportunity to the Indian. An Indian Guatemalan eventually would emerge and would be capable of contributing to, participating in, and benefiting from the political, economic and social systems of the nation. Whether reiterated in a novel devoted to explaining the Indian psyche and subconscious or explained in the legalistic phraseology of a Work Code, integration has remained the basis

of indigenista thought. Integration or incorporation of the Indian became indigenismo's common denominator, particularly after 1944. Indigenismo in Guatemala, however, is not strictly a recent development but one which was born in the early years of the colonial period.

From the time of the first Spanish contacts in the New World, the crown as well as leading Spanish jurists and theologians were dubious of the king's legal title to the lands that were being subjected to royal control. Had the territories been uninhabited, they could have been claimed upon the basis of their discovery and occupation which was consistent with current legal concepts. The lands, however, were populated. It was felt, therefore, that legal justification must be secured for the conquest of these areas and the peoples inhabiting them. Numerous meetings of civil and religious authorities sponsored by the crown were called to debate this question and to determine the roles and responsibilities of the crown in these new regions.

A point of considerable debate was whether or not the Indians were rational beings and if so, by what right or justification could their lands be taken from them. A question of concern was whether or not the Indians were depraved and barbarous beings and thus inferior by nature according to Aristotelian doctrine.[5] The Indians, it was explained, were being exposed to a higher level of civilization and human experience. Not all Spaniards, however, during these first years of the sixteenth century, were in agreement with this philosophical and theologi-

cal position. In voicing their opposition, the dissidents placed the values of the humanitarian oriented Renaissance world against those of the Aristotelian medieval world and generated a controversy that would endure for a major portion of the colonial period.[6]

The net result of the investigation into the crown's title to lands in the New World was the requerimiento, a document which demanded that the newly encountered native groups acknowledge and recognize not only the supremacy of the Spanish crown, but also the principles and doctrines of Christianity. Every conquistador by royal decree was to have this document read to the Indians by a notary and in the Indians' language before any overt action on the part of the Spaniards could be legally undertaken.[7] With this curious document, justification for the Spanish conquest in the New World was achieved.

The Spanish right of conquest in the New World, at least as far as Ferdinand and Isabella were concerned, was firmly grounded in the Papal bulls issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1492 after Columbus's first voyage.[8] Through these bulls Spain was granted all lands found west and south of a predetermined meridian as long as they were not the property of another European power. This line was later established by the Treaty of Tordesillas between Castile and Portugal in 1494 as 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. A papal bull in 1493, "Inter-Cetera," had granted to Spain the obligation and responsibility of spreading the Christian faith to the natives of the New World.[9] Although not

recognized and regarded as fanciful by other European states, it was with these documents and the requerimiento that the crown and the Spanish conquistadores began their first extensive colonial experience in the New World in the West Indies. Indigenismo as a religious, moral and political persuasion had its beginnings in these same documents.

As was true of most early colonizing expeditions, the first settlers to arrive on Hispaniola found sickness, poverty, and disillusionment rather than easily acquirable wealth and a life of luxury and ease. Rather than devoting their first energies to agricultural pursuits, the Spaniards preferred to rely upon the meager resources of the Indian population and the infrequent shipments of supplies from Spain. Occasionally, the threat of a lack of foodstuffs was temporarily solved by foraging expeditions, more often than not resulting in plunder and bloodshed at the expense of the Indians. Mineral wealth was available on Hispaniola, but only could be acquired by the arduous labor of extracting it from the river sands. Given these circumstances and the fact that many of these early colonists felt agricultural pursuits and manual labor to be beneath their station, it was not long before the Indian's capacity as a labor force would be freely utilized and various measures would be adopted to provide economic support for the colonists using this resident labor force.[10]

In an attempt to alter what had become the uncontrolled exploitation of the Indians as well as to make Hispaniola a stable colony, the crown

in 1501 appointed Nicolás de Ovando as the new governor of Hispaniola. He was instructed to implement a policy whereby the Indians would only be required to pay royal tribute as all crown subjects and be willing to work as needed on public works projects and in the mines. Given complete authority to rule the colony, Ovando was to send back to Spain those officials and colonists who refused to acknowledge his decrees. When the Indians finally refused to work, the result was a sharp decline in tribute and a scarcity of laborers.[11] Reacting to this, the crown in 1503 ordered that forced Indian labor be legalized, but that such work would be in moderation and for wages. This, the decree of Medina del Campo, also required that the Indians, considered in the document as free persons, be grouped into villages to ensure their Christianization and control. Ovando's interpretation of these orders took the form of the encomienda, an institution which would become most important later in colonial Guatemala.[12]

The encomienda was not entirely new to the Spanish experience. It had been used during the reconquista in Spain and consisted of a temporary grant by the crown of jurisdiction and manorial rights over lands conquered from the Moors. Its roots as an institution could be seen in Castilian feudalism in the form of the señorio.[13] The encomienda, however, was not a grant implying ownership of land, as the crown retained the basic title. As used in Spain and in the New World, the encomienda was a grant for services rendered and by this means the

crown could insure permanent colonization of newly acquired lands. The encomienda as it was operative in the New World essentially implied a feudal relationship between the Indians and the grantee of the encomienda or the encomendero. The latter was responsible for instructing his charges in Christianity and providing for their protection. In return the encomendero was to receive tribute and often services in the form of labor from the Indians under his jurisdiction. In times of distress, he was to provide the military means for protecting the crown's possessions.[14] Ultimately the encomienda in the New World served as a means of maintaining control over the Indian populations.[15] The institution was thus introduced into the New World by Nicolás de Ovando's need to provide a sound economic basis for the Spanish colony on Hispaniola, as well as the need to create a system whereby the Indians could be effectively supervised and governed. The encomienda and the institutions which developed from it served as a focal point for Spanish-Indian relations in the first century after the conquest and became important in perpetuating the Spanish upper class and in maintaining the Indian as a cheap source of labor.

Although Bartolomé de Las Casas traditionally has been considered as the father of indigenismo, an event occurred prior to his dedication to this cause which constituted a most influential factor in his decision to initiate what would become a crusade against the progress of the conquest. Prior to the arrival of Las Casas on Hispaniola, a controversy

over the legal status of the Indians had become a point of open and public debate with the Dominicans on the island. As Antonio de Montesinos, one of the first Dominicans to come to Hispaniola, reviewed the effects of some ten years of Spanish occupation of the island, it seemed to him that the net result for the native had been something short of a disaster. The forced labor required of the Indians in the mines and on the encomiendas, the heavy extractions of tribute from them and their exposure to disease threatened their extermination.[16]

The first Dominican friars arriving in Santo Domingo in 1510 began rather early to protest the exploitation of the aborigines. No doubt with all of this in mind, on November 30, 1511, in the presence of Diego Colón and other crown officials, Antonio Montesinos delivered a sermon which was an unqualified denunciation of the enslavement of the Indians.[17] Encomenderos were characterized as being unjust, arbitrary, and needlessly cruel in their relations with the Indians. In subsequent sermons the Spaniards were castigated further by the indignant friar, his inflammatory remarks being destined to open the path to a controversy that would endure long past the sixteenth century.

Irritated that Spanish clerics as well as royal officials and others were discussing openly matters of crown policy in the Indies, Ferdinand ordered Diego Colón to halt such controversy on the part of the Dominicans and further demanded their exclusion from Hispaniola should they persist in their open opposition. Montesinos, who had been warned to

avoid preaching such unfavorable views of crown policy, responded by providing Ferdinand with such a shocking account of Spanish cruelties that the king ordered a commission or junta of clergymen and crown officials to review the entire situation and propose reforms. As a group the junta tended to support the views expressed by Antonio de Montesinos. However, they eventually would conclude that although the Indians were free individuals, the encomienda, the object of Montesinos's caustic rhetoric, was a necessary institution. The thirty-two Laws of Burgos emanating from the junta's deliberations were passed into law in December of 1512.[18]

Overall, the Law of Burgos sought to regulate relations between the Spanish and the Indians, paying particular attention to labor conditions, education, food, and Christianization. The Indians were first declared to be free. Instruction in the faith was to proceed with all possible diligence. Indians were to be obliged to work nine months out of every year, but in such a manner as not to interfere with or impede their religious instruction or their usefulness to themselves and to the crown. Rest periods of forty days for every five months of work for Indian workers were to be provided for and the Indians were to have houses and property of their own plus time to farm their own lands. Payment for their labor either in kind or in specie was to be arranged.[19]

One of the premises behind the Laws of Burgos was that if the Indians were put into closer geographical and cultural contact with the Spaniards

the latter's goals of colonization as well as Christianization would be achieved more rapidly and more effectively. To facilitate this aim encomenderos were to build on their encomiendas a lodge thirty feet by fifteen feet for every fifty Indians, to provide each native with a hammock, to discourage them from practicing bigamy, to provide each one with a given amount of clothing valued at one peso per year, and to erect a church on the encomienda for their religious training. The Indians were to be brought to this new environment from their former villages. Once in this atmosphere, the most talented of the Indians were to be selected as future teachers and trained accordingly with the sons of caciques being destined to receive instruction in Latin.[20]

Although the Laws of Burgos forbade ill treatment of the Indians and declared them to be free, once they had demonstrated their capacity to receive the Christian faith, they failed to terminate the encomienda and lessen the labor demands placed upon them. In the sense that the status of the Indians was even discussed in the authoritarian atmosphere of Ferdinand's Spain followed by the passage of several laws which at best skirted the issue of reform, may be seen as a partial victory for those few who had espoused the rights of the Indian. The net effect of these decrees, however, was merely to grant legal sanction to Spanish programs of exploitation which would endure in principle and more often than not in practice throughout the colonial period. The lot of the natives after the passage of the Laws of Burgos remained basically unchanged.[21]

In speaking out against the pattern and nature of the Spanish conquest and attempting to protect the Indians from exploitation, Antonio de Montesinos had opened for debate the question of the nature of the Indian that would be an issue in twentieth century Guatemala as well as in the Hispanic world of the sixteenth century. Spain in the 1500's was a country of eminent thinkers and scholars.[22] Not all were in agreement with Montesinos. A fellow Dominican, Bernardo de Mesa, supported the more popular view of sanctioned Indian servitude, seeing this as a necessity because of the natural lack of understanding, capacity, and perseverance of the Indian. For Bernardo de Mesa, the Indians were depraved beings and should be treated kindly only as long as this did not interfere with their conversion. Because of their evil intentions, he stressed, absolute liberty was bad for them. Although he saw them as able to receive the faith and having enough virtue for salvation, their inclination to these ends was so minimal that some form of servitude was essential.[23] Coupled with this were the pleas of Juan Ponce de León, Francisco de Garay and others, who, in serving as representatives for the colonists on Hispaniola before the Council of the Indies, were calling for encomiendas to be granted in perpetuity or at least for three lives. Given these arguments, it is not surprising that the Laws of Burgos were something less than Montesinos and others had hoped for as they in effect gave legal sanction to the despised encomienda.[24]

The plea of justice for the Indians by Antonio de Montesinos and the rhetoric centering around the formulation of the Laws of Burgos were not to be lost on Bartolomé de Las Casas, destined to be the most active voice for Indian rights in the areas of the New World under Spanish control. A native of Seville and educated at the University of Salamanca, Las Casas journeyed to the New World for the first time with Nicolás de Ovando in 1502.[25] His father, the merchant Pedro de Las Casas, had acquired an estate on Hispaniola after accompanying Columbus on his second voyage.[26] According to Henry Raup Wagner, Las Casas apparently functioned as an agriculturalist during his first years in the New World, having previously obtained his father's lands. Finding the landed life unsuited to his tastes, Bartolomé took his holy vows and was ordained in 1510, celebrating his first mass in Santo Domingo in 1511. In the following year, Las Casas joined Diego Velásquez in the conquest of Cuba.[27] Las Casas for his role as a cleric in the Velásquez expedition was awarded, with his friend Pablo de la Renteria, an encomienda in an area reputed to be rich in yet undiscovered gold.

Las Casas, hardly an insensitive man, was soon to become disturbed by the lack of food available to the Indians and their families as well as the rigor of working in the mines and on the encomiendas. Also the accumulation of outrages and abuses that had been committed by the Spaniards against the Indians affected the mind of Las Casas. Very likely he was aware of the arguments currently being proposed by Montesinos.[28]

Las Casas began to feel that the encomienda was wrong and he, by being an encomendero, had stepped beyond the bounds of morality and decency consistent with his own convictions and his position as a cleric. He, therefore, decided to renounce his prestigious and remunerative social position as an encomendero. On August 15, 1514, Las Casas delivered a sermon against the encomienda and announced dramatically before Diego Velásquez and other royal authorities then present that he was giving up his own grant of an encomienda.[29] Whether or not this abrupt reversal by Las Casas was evidence of a pathological paranoia as Menénedez Pidal has suggested in his study of Las Casas remains insignificant in view of the fact that the Indians had just gained the person who would become their most consistent and energetic spokesman and one whose undaunting fight for Indian justice for more than half a century would have noticeable effects four hundred years later.[30]

The task facing Bartolomé de Las Casas was, indeed, a formidable one. Spain at this time was a desperately poor country and could ill afford to maintain an empire without the gold it was receiving from the New World. The export of gold was not only the principal business of the West Indies but was quickly becoming the most important factor in the Spanish economy. Although by 1515 the period of the greatest gold export from Santo Domingo had passed, the promise of future exports from Cuba were being anticipated as was the promise of yet greater

wealth in undiscovered and unexplored areas.[31]

To maintain this flow of wealth, the consistent availability of a cheap labor force was of paramount importance. Beyond this a good portion of the influential officials in Spain had a direct interest in maintaining the encomiendas. The two individuals in charge of American affairs, Lope Conchillos and the Bishop of Burgos, Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, who had provisioned one of Columbus's expeditions while Archdeacon of Seville, had been awarded encomiendas earlier. Faced with this opposition the relatively unknown cleric fought to alter the trend of events in favor of the Indians in the New World by going directly to Spain.[32]

The first encounters by Las Casas with crown officials in 1515 and 1516 were frustrated first by the indifference of Rodríguez de Fonseca and secondly by the death of Ferdinand early in 1516.[33] Las Casas, however, did gain a hearing with Cardinal Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros and Adriano de Utrecht, the two crown regents appointed upon Ferdinand's death.[34]

The exposition he presented to the crown regents in 1516, curiously the same year in which Sir Thomas More published his Utopia, was essentially a community scheme involving a new plan of government. Believing that with the abolishment of the encomienda, the Indian's condition would improve measurably, Las Casas called for the suppression of all encomiendas and the placing at liberty of all the natives. Spaniards who had benefited from the unscrupulous use of Indian labor were

to return all of their acquired riches. The natives were to be grouped into villages of about three hundred members each, in or near a Spanish town. They were to pay annually a fixed tribute to the crown.[35] Each community was to have a church, a hospital and sufficient communal lands. Every Indian village was to be ruled by a mayordomo with no prior or vested interest and was to be assisted by the caciques. An administrator and a priest were also to serve in these villages, their salaries being paid in part by the Indians. Those colonists deprived of their Indians were to receive compensation from the tribute. In all, every community was to include ten clerics, one doctor, a druggist, herdsmen and craftsmen, as well as twenty negroes as slaves.[36] The friar's blueprint for these communities was as detailed as it was impressive, the life style intended for these future settlements being quite regimented by twentieth-century standards.

Intrigued with this scheme Cardinal Cisneros gave to Las Casas and the Order of Hieronymite friars the responsibilities of implementing such a scheme as well as governing the Indies and conducting a complete investigation of the Indian problem. Armed with the title of "Protector of the Indians," Las Casas and the Hieronymites were in a sense, to establish a new crown policy and were ordered to go to the Indies on September 17, 1616.[37]

Putting into operation such a scheme designed to revolutionize Spanish-Indian relations proved to be difficult. The colonists on Santo

Domingo were alarmed with the arrival of so formidable a foe which threatened their life style. After an extensive investigation the Hieronymites concluded in a report to Cisneros that the colony would collapse were it not for Indian labor. There simply were not enough Spaniards to maintain the colony alone. The Hieronymites, therefore, concentrated their efforts toward assuring the fair treatment of the Indian. Although the scheme of Spanish-Indian relations was not altered in any appreciable way, the Hieronymite experience did indicate that Spaniards in the New World generally felt the natives to be prodigal, having no interest in economic activity of any kind, and having no capacity for freedom. Any future reform program, therefore, would be faced with difficulties at best.[38]

Although frustrated and humiliated by the outcome of the Hieronymite mission, Las Casas continued to denounce the encomienda and crown policies and was joined by Bernardo de Santo Domingo who declared that encomenderos were living in sin along with those clerics who unwisely absolved them. He insisted that the encomienda could not be justified by any legal or moral law or premise.[39]

Undaunted by his lack of success on Hispaniola, Las Casas attempted another scheme at colonization in 1520 in the area of the Cumaná river in present-day Venezuela. This scheme, which had been based upon the immigration of Spanish laborers resulted in another failure for Las Casas.[40] The Cumaná experiment included a concept of the Indian as

a free laborer capable of a mutually beneficial and cohesive relationship with Spanish laborers, but it was simply not consistent with the then current attitudes and points of view held by the Spanish toward the Indians.[41]

Although these early efforts by Las Casas and others to improve the status of the Indians in the New World had not generated any remarkable changes, they were not without their effects upon Charles V. The new king, by the force and direction of circumstances, became the first monarch who was required, in a sense, to learn something of the Indian situation in the New World.[42] As early as 1520 he had ordered all Spanish officials in the New World to initiate whatever steps were deemed necessary to eliminate the encomienda as an institution. However humanitarian the feelings and conscience of the king may have been, the gradual realization that the future of the Spanish possessions in the New World was utterly dependent upon the presence of an Indian labor force resulted eventually in the crown rescinding its orders and declaring the encomiendas to be a beneficial institution and useful for implementing the goal of conversion.

This episode as with many others that followed indicated that there was a marked division of opinion in Spain regarding the Indian and subjects relating to him. During the reign of Charles V, these diverging concepts and points of view were most accurately represented by two individuals. One knew the Indies and the Indians well, having crossed

the ocean several times and having conducted extensive studies of them. He had written a multitude of folios describing their customs, their traditions, their life styles and their environments. The other, in contrast, had lived in Salamanca and had never traveled to the New World. His concern as a theologian was the salvation of the soul of the Indian rather than his body, an idea that had been an obsession with other clerics before him.[43] These two individuals, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo and Francisco Victoria, each in his own direction and academic persuasion, helped the emperor in knowing the Indian in the New World. The former had concluded that the Indian possessed a soul and was capable of salvation. He, therefore, questioned the legal and moral premises of the conquest and mildly denied its validity as based upon Spanish law and the teachings of Christianity. The latter justified the conquest.[44] Throughout the colonial period the crown would alter its concept of the Indian to correspond with one or the other of these viewpoints. The net result was an Indian policy which was seldom firm in its goals and direction, motivated and influenced as it was by moral arguments on the one hand and the force of economic necessity on the other. In this atmosphere of periodic change, the Spanish entry into Guatemala would be effected.

When Pedro de Alvarado entered what is today Guatemala, he did not encounter a series of simple hunting and gathering tribes that could easily be subdued, but, quite the contrary, found himself confronted

with an advanced and sophisticated civilization with historical roots stretching back to the second millennium B.C.[45] At one time the Mayas could boast an extension of city-states and population centers which included the present-day areas of Campeche, Chiapas, Yucatan, and Tabasco in Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala, including El Petén.

The Maya culture included a language which incorporated approximately fifteen spoken dialects, some of these being Ixil, Quiché, and Tzeltal which were spoken in the Guatemalan highlands. Collectively, the Mayas utilized a common glyph-written language which was to be found in cities some five hundred miles apart.[46] The Maya social organization, like that of most theocratic states, contained essentially two classes, the noble class or ahmenhenob and the yalba uinicob or the lower man which constituted the broad base of the social pyramid and included millions of slaves.[47] Although the Mayas did not have an empire comparable to the Incas or Aztecs where one ruler controlled vast areas of land and people through various economic and political means, they were organized into city-states similar to those familiar to the ancient Greeks.

Many sections of the Mayan culture were considerably advanced for their time. In the preparation of huipiles and other textiles, they utilized a wide variety of mineral and vegetable dyes which outdistanced by a generous margin the technological capabilities of European weavers

in the sixteenth century. The arts of feather work, basketry, ropemaking and pottery making not only met the daily needs of their society, but provided for often complex artistic expressions and symbolic representations.[48] An impressive expanse of trade routes had been developed by the Mayas which incorporated geographically most of present-day Central America and southern Mexico. Not only were their accomplishments in medicine, music, dance, and drama noteworthy, but their festivals were highly sophisticated expressions of political, social and particularly religious topics and themes. In the fields of architecture and astronomy their achievements were monumental as evidenced by their highly accurate calendar and the magnificence of such edifices as those at Tikal, Uxmal, Palenque and Chichen Itzá, all of which demonstrated their aesthetic and practical sensibilities.[49]

This civilization was that which faced Pedro de Alvarado and his following in 1523 as they entered Guatemala. Fortunately for the future success of Alvarado's intentions, the apex of Mayan culture had long passed by 1523.[50] The Mayas' period of greatest accomplishment was around the beginning of the tenth century A. D. and they had not since experienced a renaissance nor had their cultural unity been regained.[51] The Indian population which Alvarado aimed to subdue numbered probably around one million persons and was divided roughly into three kingdoms: the Quiché which extended from the Pacific coast to El Petén and centered at Utatlán, the Cakchiquels which extended from

Lake Atitlán to the volcanoes of Agua and Fuego and into the northern highland plateau and centered at Ixme, and the Tzutohiles located on the shores of Lake Atitlán.[52] Although the Cakchiquels chose not to resist the invaders, the others fought. What was to have been a peaceful introduction of Spanish civilization into this new area of potential gain was to become a long and bloody series of armed encounters reminiscent of the Spanish experience in Mexico.

The eventual success enjoyed by Pedro de Alvarado and his army in the conquest of Guatemala could be attributed to a number of factors. Not the least important of these was that the Mayas were not unified. Their division into three main kingdoms and a number of lesser groups allowed the Spaniards to subdue these various elements separately. The Quichés and later the Tzutohiles were overcome while the other groups remained inactive such as the Cakchiquels, the Mam groups in Huehuetenango and San Marcos, the Quekchi and Pocomchi in Vera Paz and the Lacandones in the upper reaches of the highland plateau. Indeed, several of these Indian groups, particularly the Quichés, the Cakchiquels, and the Tzutohiles had been weakened by wars among themselves just prior to the Spanish conquest and were thus not willing to lend any assistance to their former adversaries. The military prowess of the Spaniards, their use of firearms and horses which terrified the Indians, the fact that the Indian nobility considered the Spaniards to be deities, and Alvarado's ability to set one native group against

another were all factors contributing to his victory over seemingly insurmountable odds.[53]

Religion was the central force in the Indians' life. In contrast to the vibrant optimism of the Spaniard that had been nurtured by the Renaissance, the Indians conceived of their past as having been regulated entirely by the supernatural. Catastrophe and disaster were common elements in this past. Their present and future were predestined and a function of the desires of a complicated set of mystical beings with extensive powers. As the Popol Vuh related, humans were created from corn to be respectable and obedient beings who would nourish and sustain their creators.[54] In this environment man had no control whatsoever over his own destiny as a host of deities as in the Popol Vuh appeared and reappeared to exert their influence.

Quite different from the Spaniard's sense of self-reliance and belief in one's fundamental capacity to achieve, the Indians were passive and willing to accept their fate as their role in life had been determined by the gods. At times they were melancholical. Progress and individual achievement were not values in the native society. The Indians' environment long before the conquest had been and was filled with violence and immolation. Their life was one of expected sacrifice. Destruction by some supernatural being could come at any time as evidenced by the adventures of the two youths Hunahpu and Xbalanque described in the Popol Vuh. The Indians saw themselves essentially helpless in the

midst of a cosmic struggle. Stemming no doubt from this sense of pessimism and inexorable fate was the stoicism and indifference to pain, violence, and suffering, which became the theme of many colonial epics.[55]

In contrast to the Spaniard's view of a man-centered universe and his senses of logic and realism, the Indians' environment was one of mysterious relationships and one of the obscure metaphor. Magic, divinations, sorcery, and superstition were fundamental to their life style. Confronted with this type of mentality which was so different from their own, the difficulties encountered by the Spaniards later in obtaining an effective labor force can be explained in part. The Indian often remained indifferent to threats posed by their conquerors, violent or otherwise. Often these threats were not seen as ultimate by the Indians. An impending destruction or horrible death could not in the end alter the native's pattern of existence which had been similarly predetermined. Many natives, indeed, felt the Spaniards to be nothing more than gods themselves and the instruments of their predetermined demise within the constructs of their cosmic world. A pessimistic, stoic, and passive personality implanted into an aboriginal people used to pain and suffering and a people whose lives were controlled at every point by the supernatural were what the Spaniards encountered in Guatemala in the sixteenth century.[56] This and the passive resistance of the Indians to the demands placed upon them by the Spaniards after the conquest con-

stituted, in many respects, a focal point for some three centuries of Spanish domination over aboriginal Guatemala.

By July of 1524 Pedro de Alvarado and his following had been able to achieve a position of relative supremacy over the natives of Guatemala.[52] This struggle had been an arduous one for the Spaniards. Contending with an intemperate climate, a nearly impassable terrain with swarms of insects, dense forests, volcanic mountains which periodically erupted and dry plains, not to mention the forces of their adversaries, Spanish hegemony was eventually achieved. At times the barbarity of the conquest had exceeded the ferocity attributed to the deities of the Popol Vuh.

Having endured the pains of the conquest, the Spanish were anxious to take advantage of their new situation. Apparently satisfied that the natives had been sufficiently subdued, Pedro de Alvarado decided to make more permanent the Spanish presence in the conquered territory which would later become part of the Spanish empire. In the midst of a cornfield near Iximche, the former capital of Cakchiquels, Alvarado established a capital city patterned on the Spanish grid style on St. James Day, July 25, 1524.[58] Named Santiago, the population of the new settlement included the natives of the area, the remaining members of Alvarado's expedition and approximately two hundred Spaniards who had come as reinforcements.

The first phase of colonization in Guatemala following the initial

conquest was essentially a brutal despotism. Believing that the natives possessed great stores of mineral wealth on the order of the Aztecs in New Spain, the Spaniards, following the example of Alvarado, resorted to trickery, bribery and whatever other means that would yield the hidden wealth of Guatemala. Alvarado, according to the "Memorial de Tecpan-Atitlan" threatened to burn alive and to hang native chieftains should they refuse or be unable to bring to the Spaniards the gold concealed in the villages of their peoples. In order to acquire the surface wealth available, Alvarado was quick to enslave the native residents, requiring them to work the mines as well as the rivers.[59] Even Indian children were forced to labor in the river sands near a hill named Chackchehal.[60]

Enslavement was thus the treatment handed out to the Indians by Alvarado, who was later blamed by Las Casas for establishing the slave trade in Guatemala and for not only exacting heavy tributes from the Indians, but for exporting young natives as slaves to Panama and Peru. Women were not exempt; Guatemala became the only area in the New World to practice openly the enslavement of Indian women.[61] The general enslavement of the Indians was widespread enough in Guatemala for the audiencia in Mexico City to report to the king in May of 1533 that the common market price for a slave in Guatemala was only about two pesos.[62] In 1530 Indian slaves were being used extensively in placer mining projects.[63]

The despotism imposed by Alvarado included at the outset the use of the encomienda and the repartimiento, the latter referring to a grouping of Indian laborers to accomplish a given task.[64] Entire villages and geographical areas of Indians were placed on these early encomiendas or divided into work groups and forced to work without remuneration. By preserving the Indian political and economic organization at the village level and working through native caciques, the collection of the tribute and the gathering of laborers was considerably facilitated. Although the injustices in the assignment of repartimientos and encomiendas were reported to the Audiencia of Mexico in 1526, the overt exploitation of the natives in nearly all respects became a common practice in Guatemala soon after the conquest. Indeed, a slave trade was in operation which endured until 1540 and which involved more than twenty ships sailing regularly between Realejo, Nicoya, Panama and Peru.[65]

The Laws of Burgos, which had sought to regulate relations between the Spaniards and the Indians, along with other crown legislation and decrees relating to native matters, were largely ignored in Guatemala. Instead of existing as free individuals, the natives were enslaved on a large scale.[66] The absence of clerics who might have dampened the zeal for exploitation through programs of conversion indicated that native Christianization was not initially a fundamental point in the Spanish conquest of Guatemala. Even by November 22, 1527, when the capital city was relocated in the lush valley between the volcanoes Agua

and Fuego, it being renamed Santiago de los Caballeros, the first cleric had not yet arrived. Indeed, it seemed that the crown was predisposed to favor Alvarado as he received several titles including that of adelantado and was named Captain General and Governor of Guatemala.[67] By 1529 Jorge de Alvarado, the conqueror's brother, had extended the circle of Spanish control and had reduced to slavery the Indians in the region which today is appropriately named the Río de los Esclavos. In the following year the natives were required to pay a heavy tribute and large numbers of them were collected for work in the construction of the first permanent buildings in Santiago de los Caballeros. An extensive mining effort in 1530 demanded the use of hundreds of Indian laborers.[68]

Francisco Marroquín, who arrived in Santiago in 1530 to be the first bishop of Guatemala, wrote to Charles V stating that the use of the natives as carriers was severely reducing their numbers. He affirmed that ". . . although your majesty has ordered that Indians not be used to transport material, the practice still exists and for every ten or so employed, only five return home."[69] By 1532 Alvarado had received the power to enslave all those Indian auxiliaries who had assisted him in the conquest. They were favored with the option of employment in public works. Those who resisted, if fourteen years of age or over, were enslaved, some destined to perform personal services for the Spaniards. According to Bartolomé de las Casas, Alvarado's mis-

treatment of the Indians was boundless as hundreds were subjected to the most rigorous forms of labor.[70]

For the Indians it appeared that a life of perpetual serfdom was their destiny. However, beginning in 1536 and later in the 1540's a series of events threatened a basic alteration of this entire situation. In 1536 the crown declared that Indians from the highlands in Guatemala were not to be taken to the coasts for the purposes of labor.[71] Prior to the issuing of this decree it had been common for encomenderos to bring Indians from the highlands to work on their encomiendas on the coastal plains. The result of this practice spelled disaster for the Indians as they died in large numbers when exposed to the malaria-ridden and disease-infested lowlands. Alvarado, in journeying to Ecuador to gain a role in the conquest of the Inca Empire, complemented this wholesale decimation by utilizing some two thousand Indian slaves from the highlands. The majority never returned to their homes. In this same year slavery was prohibited by royal decree in Guatemala and Nicaragua.[72] A supplement to this legislation appeared at about the same time in the form of a Papal Bull. Pope Paul III in his "Sublimis Deus" declared that the Indians were true men, it being against just principles to enslave them.[73] Regardless of the source, whether King, Pope, or Council of the Indies, the bulk of legislation attempting to regulate the exploitation of the Indians was ignored by the colonists. Observances of such decrees would have posed a fundamental threat to continued Span-

ish domination in Guatemala. The situation of the Indian would not be altered by a Papal Bull or a few foyal pronouncements.

In 1531 after some nine years of exclusion from the secular world following his failure with the Cumaná experiment, Las Casas decided again to enter the fight for a just treatment of the natives. Beginning in 1531 with a series of letters to the Council of the Indies, Las Casas urged the Council to halt the horrible extermination of the Indians and see to their conversion to Christianity. His argument in these letters was that conquistadores and royal officials, through their ill treatment of the Indians, were bringing about an economic loss to the crown as tribute payments were being diminished with the death of each Indian.[74] Las Casas explained that a new system of colonization must be adopted that would employ peaceful means and avoid the evils of limitless exploitation. This would be successful, he said, because the Indians were rational beings and capable of accepting Christianity without the implementation of brutal force.

In May of 1537 Las Casas embarked upon his new scheme accompanied by Pedro de Angulo, Luís Cancer, and Rodrigo de Landa in a region in the northeastern part of Guatemala called the land of war, now Verapaz. In a contract drawn up between Alonso de Maldonado, then acting Governor of Guatemala, and Las Casas, it was agreed that no encomiendas would be established in the area and that Spanish civil officials would not enter the zone for a five-year period.[75] The work of peace-

ful conversion which earlier had been used successfully by Friar Jacobo de Testera in Yucatan was initiated by composing verses in Quiché relating the creation of the world, the fall of man, his banishment from paradise, the life and miracles of Jesus Christ, the resurrection, the ascent into Heaven and other religious themes. The initial contact was made by employing some merchants who traveled throughout the area. These individuals learned the verses and recited them to the Indians. Apparently impressed by what they heard, Indians from Zacapulas invited the friars to enter the area.[76] Later successes in Atitlán, Tecpan Atitlán and Chichicastenango indicated that peaceful conversion was accomplishing what Spanish military prowess had been unable to do.

Supported by the success of peaceful conversion, Las Casas for the next decade through works such as "Del único modo de atraer a todos los pueblos a la religión verdadera" would argue before the Council of the Indies and the Crown that the Indians could be induced to accept Christianity by utilizing persuasive rather than forceful means.[77] The Indians he included in a concept of predestined salvation and saw them as rational beings.

The persuasiveness of the arguments of Las Casas resulted, in part, in a new legislative departure by the crown in 1542. The New Laws, promulgated and signed by Charles V on November 20, 1542, sought to reorganize the juridical and economic meaning and function of the encomienda.[78] The encomendero in a sense was to be placed outside the

arena of direct control over the Indians. Under these laws, personal service was to be abolished with the Indians paying only a tribute to the encomendero, the amount to be determined by the audiencia. New encomiendas were not to be granted under any circumstances and all crown officials, religious houses and monastic groups were commanded to give up their encomiendas, this order arriving in Guatemala in 1544.[79] Those who could establish legal title to their encomiendas would be allowed to keep them but could not pass them on to their heirs. Upon the death of an encomendero, the encomienda would revert to the crown. Encomenderos were to live in the province where their encomiendas were located. Absenteeism was thus disallowed. Those who possessed Indians without proper royal title were to have them taken away, said Indians reverting to crown control.[80] Those holding an excessive number of Indians in encomiendas were to have their allotment reduced to a fair and moderate quantity by the audiencia. Indians who had been abused by encomenderos were to revert to crown control.[81]

The audiencias were given the responsibility of seeing to the good treatment of the Indians and were to bring to justice those Spaniards guilty of consistent mistreatment. Indian slavery was expressly forbidden and all under such circumstances were to be free.[82] When Indians were employed, the burden of labor was to be moderate and the Indian laborers were to be paid.[83]

The New Laws, the first extensive colonial legislation in favor of

Indian rights with provisions for setting up administrative and judicial bodies in the New World to protect these rights, as can be seen, attempted to bring a new political organization to the colonies. The Indians, once freed from the tutelage and influence of the encomenderos and the yoke of slavery, were to be governed by corregidores. They were to have their own municipal governments and were to pay their tribute directly to the corregidores when possible. Concurrent with this was the decree issued in 1542, creating a separate audiencia for Central America, first set up in Gracias a Dios in 1544 but moved to Santiago de los Caballeros in 1549. The chief function of this new audiencia was to be the enforcement of the New Laws and assuring the good treatment of the Indians.[84] The responsibility of carrying out this monumental task fell to Alonso de Maldonado who became the president of the new audiencia.

Once news of the New Laws reached the New World, open and often loud and threatening opposition was not long in coming to a head. Although given portions of the New Laws may not have been particularly irksome to the Spanish populace in a given area, taken as a whole their enforcement in any colony would have spelled disaster. Threatening as they did the very foundation of Spanish wealth and prestige in the New World, opposition was to be expected. The threat of rebellion existed in both Mexico and Guatemala. In Peru a bloody civil war broke out resulting in the death of a viceroy. Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of

New Spain, sensing the potential danger to the Crown, withheld publication of the laws in Mexico City.[85] The cabildo of Mexico City sent attorneys to Spain to present its grievances before the Council of the Indies and express the opposition of the colonists.

In Guatemala, where the encomienda as an institution was as firmly entrenched as anywhere in the New World, notice of the New Laws caused considerable alarm. In October of 1543 the town council of Santiago agreed to send lobbyists directly to Spain to press for the abrogation of the laws. Two years later the ayuntamiento wrote directly to the king asking for the cancellation of those laws relating to the encomiendas and sponsored by that "fraile bellaco y mentiroso."[86] Archbishop García Peláez, in relating the plight of the encomenderos, explained that most Indians held as slaves in Guatemala would have to be freed as few encomenderos could produce just titles. This meant the financial ruin of a considerable portion of the Spanish sector in Guatemala society. Although the crown as early as 1545 revoked some of the decrees included in the New Laws, it felt that the balance should be implemented. For several reasons Alonso de Maldonado was recalled as president of the Audiencia de los Confines. Married to the daughter of Adelantado Francisco de Montejo, who operated several encomiendas, Maldonado was not sympathetic to the intent and goals of the New Laws. His replacement arrived at Gracias a Dios, the seat of the audiencia in 1548.[87]

Lic. Alonso López de Cerrato, who had been active earlier as an

oidor on Hispaniola in freeing the Indian slaves, began his tenure as the new president of the audiencia determined to implement the New Laws. In his activities toward eliminating Indian slavery Cerrato was opposed by most of the Spanish colonists. Even Bishop Marroquín, who held the title of "Protector of the Indians," selected a moderate course which indulged the Spaniards and privately was opposed to the New Laws and Cerrato's efforts to enforce them. Cerrato's only open support in Guatemala came from the Dominicans.

Criticized for being abrupt in his treatment of the Spanish colonists and serving as the instrument which could destroy the colony, Cerrato continued in his efforts to carry out the letter and intent of the New Laws and by 1550 the lot of the natives was visibly improved.[88] In 1544 the audiencia had taken steps to prohibit the use of women and men under fourteen years of age as slaves. Bishop Marroquín described the plight of the Indians prior to Cerrato's arrival when he wrote that, "These people are great in numbers, poor and lacking in faith and reason. For us, who are few, we have God, the king, and twenty forms of justice; for them there is nothing."[89] In attempting to bring justice to the Indians, Cerrato forbade their use as laborers in the search for buried wealth. The jailing of Indians for failing to pay their tributes had forced the crown to favor a general review of the entire situation.[90]

To limit the pervasive influence of the encomenderos, Cerrato placed all Indian villages under the jurisdiction of <u>alcades mayores</u> and

corregidores and prohibited encomenderos from renting out their Indian laborers. The forced deportation of Indian slaves was prohibited as was the transportation of Indian women for purposes of labor away from their homes.[91] All Indian slaves were declared to be free.[92] The encomenderos of Izalcos, Naslingo and Tacuzculco were publicly denounced by Cerrato for the abuses of Indian laborers and all such individuals by subsequent legislation were to be punished.[93] Considered a fanatic by his Spanish vecinos, Cerrato courageously continued to enforce the New Laws where other officials were afraid to do so.

Lic. Alonso López de Cerrato, Bartolomé de las Casas, and other proponents and defenders of Indian rights of this period achieved only a temporary victory with the passage of the New Laws. Although many of the laws affecting the encomienda were abrogated, those forbidding slavery and personal service were maintained. The New Laws in one sense were destined to failure in that they did not accurately reflect any reasonable knowledge of the actual conditions in the Indies and did not consider that Indian servitude was fundamental to continued Spanish domination. After 1550 many of the New Laws that had not been revoked were simply not enforced in Guatemala and the efforts of Bishop Las Casas to implement them in Chiapas met with failure even when he threatened to excommunicate encomenderos.[94] In several letters to the king in 1550, the procurador-sindico of Guatemala who was none other than Bernal Díaz del Castillo, stressed that the Indians performed

the most fundamental tasks necessary for the continued life of the colony and, therefore, should not be freed from slavery as they were basically indolent and needed to be coerced into becoming productive. Díaz had considered Cerrato's policies as unrealistic.[95]

The furor and confusion which resulted over the crown's legislation of the New Laws had left the king and many of his officials undecided over which course to pursue in the Indies with respect to the Indians. Political turmoil and chaos in some areas had resulted. Angered by his failure to limit the exploitation of the Indians, Las Casas renounced his title as Bishop of Chiapas and returned to Spain in 1550 to plead further his contentions. He arrived in Spain at a time when Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, a noted humanist and translator of Aristotle, was at court seeking official approval and support for a work he had completed entitled "Democrates Alter."[96] Enraged by what Sepúlveda hoped to put into print, Las Casas quickly opposed the doctor's efforts to have his book published. So extensive was the opposition that it was decided that the differing viewpoints of the two should be debated at Valladolid.

Sepúlveda's fundamental contention was that the conquest or war against the Indian was just. It was so, he affirmed, because of the gravity and extent of sin of the Indians, especially their idolatry, their incest, and their moral irregularities. Secondly, the utter rudeness of the Indians, he argued, and their low level of civilization made it necessary for them to serve the Spaniards. The conquest was just

because the Indians were being introduced to Christianity, a higher level of spiritual, moral and religious sensibility. This would extract them from their environment of utter depravity which was punctuated by cannibalism and human sacrifice to false gods.[97]

Las Casas maintained that although war was commanded by God as stated in the Bible, this was not against idolators, but only against particular tribes of the era. As was his style, in a long dissertation he denied the rudeness of the Indians and affirmed that they were rational and free human beings and should be so considered. The argumentative friar considered peaceful conversion as the only effective means of bringing the natives to Christianity.[98] With respect to Sepúlveda's charge of cannibalism and human sacrifice, Las Casas stated that a little of the latter was a lesser evil than the indiscriminate warfare that had been practiced to date by Spain.[99] Throughout the debates Sepúlveda maintained the king's hegemony in the Indies to be based upon military supremacy and the need to end the immoral practices of the Indians while Las Casas steadfastly adhered to the thesis that the king's rights in the Indies were founded upon grants by the papacy to convert the natives to Christianity.

No firm decision was ever reached from the Valladolid debate. Although Las Casas and Sepúlveda both claimed victory, no such result was evident. The conquest could not have been annulled nor was there any vast repeal of former legislation. The debate emphasized the fact

that the crown's policy toward the Indians was a dichotomous one and would remain so for the balance of the colonial period. Las Casas emerged from the debate with an increased degree of influence which he would utilize until his death.[100]

During the reign of Charles V it was to be the misfortune of the Indian to be the object of a policy which was based upon foundations and premises often untested and frequently altered to fit the differing circumstances encountered in the New World. The data from which rational policies of state were formulated were more often than not incomplete, and when such information was available, it often reflected the personal interests of the reporter. Not only were some of the basic institutions taken to the New World such as the encomienda and the repartimiento under periodic debate, but the very nature of the native inhabitants could not be determined sufficiently to arrive at a basic crown policy.[101]

Although Charles V was far from being ignorant of the Indies and its native inhabitants, his knowledge was conditioned early by the diametrically opposed views of Victoria and Fernández de Oviedo and later by Las Casas and Sepúlveda, not to mention the substantial body of conquistadores. The passage of the New Laws served as a case in point. Constantly subject to change, the crown's Indian policy created a situation that was often confusing to officials in the Indies.

The long tenure of Philip II as king of Spain did not alter substan-

tially the nature of crown legislation with regard to the Indians. Legislation protecting the Indians and recognizing Indian rights was often followed by royal decrees lending juridic authority to various means of their exploitation. In 1560, apparently concerned over some of the more subtle means utilized in taking advantage of the natives in Guatemala, Philip ordered that Indians were not to be punished for minor offences by the assignment of a labor term in an obraje or workhouse. They were not to be defrauded of their salaries or have the length of their labor service extended. Indian alcaldes were to remain dependent upon the audiencia for instructions and guidance and clerics were not, henceforth, to ask of the natives fees for the administration of the sacraments.[102] This legislation, however, was followed in 1561 by a grant to a group of expeditionaries who wished to subdue the Lacandones in Guatemala.[103]

This confusing and contradictory pattern of legislation was, to a large extent, a function of the crown's constant need of funds to maintain its responsibilities in Europe as well as in its vast overseas empire. Philip, constantly aware of the shortage of funds, was seldom adverse to granting rights and privileges to potential conquistadores and officials promising to add to the royal coffers. Legislative clarity with respect to the native inhabitants of the Indies was sacrificed to satisfy the greater need of financial and economic stability.

On July 20, 1566, the cause of the Indian was dealt a blow by the loss of his greatest spokesman. After fighting for over a half a century for

just treatment of the Indian the vociferous friar Bartolomé de Las Casas died at ninety-two years of age. His denunciation of the Spanish conquest and the influences generated by this, however, did not likewise succumb, but, indeed, would be felt four hundred years later in twentieth-century Guatemala as his theme of the universality of human dignity would be expressed in indigenista legislation and literature.[104] The majority of his literary efforts amounted to a forceful condemnation of Spanish Indian policies in the New World which not only had pronounced effects on two Spanish kings and upon numerous officials, but would serve later as an example as well as a catalyst for subsequent indigenistas throughout Latin America.

The written word was the media of communication chosen by Bartolomé de Las Casas to wage his crusade on behalf of Indian rights. Most of his writings, from the first memorial sent from Hispaniola in 1516 to his treatise on Peru, De Thesauris, presented to Philip II as a last will and testament, were aimed toward persuading the Spanish authorities that injustice was being done the Indians and that the government must undertake actions to prevent this.[105] His Tratado sobre el gobierno que los reyes de España deben adoptar para los indios and his Del modo legal y cristiano en que los reyes de España pueden extender su dominación en las Indias, written in 1539, not only damned current Spanish policies in the Indies, but proposed new ones. His Apologética historia, begun in 1527 and finally terminated in 1550, was an impressive accumulation of

information on the customs and life of the Indians designed to defend them from the charge that they were slaves according to Aristotelian theory by virtue of their inheritance and class. Las Casas advocated that the Indians should be understood in light of their own customs and beliefs and their own culture rather than by European or Spanish standards.[106]

The most widely known tract by the friar, his Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias, completed in 1542 and presented to Charles V, was a stinging denunciation of the conquest. In this work Las Casas through a vehement prose attempted to utterly discredit some forty-five years of conquest by enumerating abuses including robberies, murder, rape, and plunder, all committed by the Spaniards and often resulting in native depopulation.[107] Throughout this work and others the conquistador was presented as the greedy and cruel opportunist whose actions were outside the bounds of Christian decency and proper moral and juridical conduct. Las Casas in this work, as in most of his writings, maintained that the Indian was a rational being capable of accepting Christianity. His treatment at the hands of the Spaniards was therefore unjust, cruel, and immoral. His enslavement, the theft of his property and worldly goods, the destruction of his artifacts, and the tearing apart of his culture, the friar explained, could not be justified by any means whatever. Las Casas became the first prominent indigenista in the sense that he questioned and criticized the exploitation of the Indian and strove to im-

prove his situation through legal, social, economic and spiritual reform.

Although Las Casas devoted much of his energy toward the fight for a more just treatment of the Indian, the conclusion that Las Casas was an indigenista is, in many respects, unwarranted. With the possible exception of his pleas in favor of the Cumaná experiment, Las Casas did not argue for complete integration, the goal of most modern indigenistas. His plans were protectionistic. They were designed to preserve the Indian from exploitation and possible extermination. The Indian in the prose of Las Casas never became a being exactly equal in all respects to the Spaniard. He was to be a free vassal of the crown just as the Spaniard, but would demonstrate his loyalty to the crown ultimately through Spanish officials in the New World.

Although ideologically and philosophically the Indian was a rational being capable of accepting conversion like the Spaniard, he was still apart from the Spaniard. Complete and unconditional integration was not a goal promoted by Las Casas. Las Casas established the idea that an Indian problem existed and that the dominant Spanish society should utilize legislation and adopt moral practices consistent with the Christian ethic that would protect the Indian from unfair exploitation. Las Casas can be considered as the father of modern indigenismo in the sense that he initiated the first step toward an indigenista philosophy. He urged protectionistic legislation.

Need for the continued use of Indian laborers persisted throughout

the colonial period and policies and institutions were developed and altered to meet this need. When the encomienda and the repartimiento ceased to exist as institutions beneficial to the Spaniards because of crown legislation which restricted their use, they were replaced by the mandamiento and the hacienda in Guatemala. The latter was seen as an advantage over the encomienda as the Indians could work for a particular time to pay their tribute and would not owe an obligation to an encomendero. By 1577 the mandamiento was being used extensively by the Indians in the Verapaz region as a means of paying their tribute through labor and it was being increasingly considered as an effective institution by the Spanish colonists.

At the same time steps were taken that were of some benefit to the natives. All legal cases coming before the audiencia which involved Indians were to be translated into the appropriate Indian languages. Each native village in Guatemala was to have assigned to it a protector of Indians and all labor performed on private projects was to be salaried. Indian workers were not to be used in obrajes processing wool, silk or cotton or on fincas raising sugar cane or indigo. All Spaniards guilty of crimes against the natives were to be punished without making a distinction under the law as to the Spaniard's social or economic position. The sixteenth century closed in Guatemala with a style or pattern of exploitation that had become much more subtle and sophisticated than the outright slavery practiced immediately after the conquest. These soph-

isticated forms would be those utilized throughout the remainder of the colonial period. The avenue of this exploitation was the hacienda.

The picture painted by many conquistadores and popularizers during the sixteenth century of a New World offering promises of economic advancement was altered by developments in the sixteenth century. Economic progress turned into a depression that was felt in the New World as well as in Europe. In reacting to this Spaniards in Guatemala and elsewhere retreated to the countryside.[108] Land became the symbol of wealth for the Spaniards and the hacienda became the institution to replace the largely defunct encomienda. Not related to the earlier holdings of conquistadores and encomenderos, the hacienda, which was a privately owned landed estate, came into being through land grants, purchase agreements, accretion and usurpation.[109] It had the distinct advantage of being divorced from the whims of royal perogatives. The hacendado was the director of his own property and could sell it if he so desired. In Guatemala and particularly in the areas of Chiapas, Huehuetenango and Quetzaltenango where entrepreneurial possibilities for the Spaniards were few, a close link was formed between the encomienda and the hacienda. The hacienda developed quickly in these areas.[110]

As with the encomienda, the Indian became the basis for the operation of the hacienda. Often by circumventing royal labor codes, Indian workers would be invited by the hacendado to settle on his estate. He would then pay their tribute to the crown authorities and offer to pay

them wages for their labor. Small sums of money would be advanced to the workers and they would be given the right to purchase goods on credit from the hacendado's store of supplies. Laborers were generally provided with small plots of land upon which they could grow their own crops. Now indebted, the worker would agree to repay the hacendado through his labor. Utilizing this technique, Juan de Léon operating in Totonicapán and Quetzaltenango was able to create a large commercial enterprise involving large herds of sheep. By often devious means, the peones were maintained in their state of indebtedness. With this mechanism debt peonage became the dominant labor or employment system in Spanish America and the hacienda became the chief institution of the new social and economic order.[111]

The hacienda was both capitalistic and feudalistic in its general character. With the presence of a landowner dominant over an indebted labor force, it appeared feudalistic but lacked the guarantees of security that had existed with the encomienda where the Indian laborer in a sense was reimbursed for his lack of choice or self-determination. It was capitalistic as it was organized as an institution to yield a profit from the sale of goods that were produced and fundamentally involved the private ownership of property. Yet the hacienda was so ineffective in its operation that it is difficult to conclude that it was a capitalistic institution. Crop yields were often low, profits were quickly consumed, the technology employed often involved techniques utilized by pre-Hispanic

agriculturalists, and new lands were often acquired not for the purpose of increasing production, but for removing lands from possible use by Indian farmers, thus forcing them to become dependent upon the hacienda. With the labor groups being obtained through use of the repartimiento and other means, the hacienda became a curious blend of the feudal and the capitalistic.[112] With the emergence of the hacienda and the passage of time, the hacendado became the symbol of authority and prestige replacing the viceroy and the king. The hacienda became the institution which to a large extent regulated and controlled the lives of the rural Indian peasantry as no former Spanish institution had been able to do. No successor to the hacienda would appear until the twentieth century.

Although the hacendado occupied a position of considerable power over his Indian peons, the crown in the seventeenth century was still able to exert its influence. By the opening of the seventeenth century it appeared that any crown legislation in favor of the Indians would seldom go beyond regulating the nature of the exploitation. The native labor force was still essential to the Spanish maintenance of power in Guatemala. In 1601 it was declared that all natives were to be free to contract for labor by the day or by the week.[113] At approximately the same time the repartimiento was restricted and not to be applied to natives working as domestics, cattle herdsmen, agricultural workers, or construction workers. All labor on estates or obrajes was to be

voluntary and all Indians were to live as free vassals of the crown. The Indians were not to be subjected to a repartimiento if the work site was a considerable distance from their home.[114] Negro workers rather than Indians were to be used in the mines.[115] Mayordomos, often the most sophisticated in their means of taking advantage of the Indians, were to be removed from the haciendas.

It was not until 1620 that Philip III forbade the practice of buying certain items cheaply from the Indians and selling to them at inflated prices a variety of non-essential items.[116] The filching of Indian property by often false purchase agreements occasionally practiced by escribanos was prohibited. Throughout the century other forms of exploitation and institutions leading to undue exploitation were dealt with by crown legislation. By 1631 the lucrative office of repartidor de indios had been dissolved as had been such positions as jueces para azucar, jueces de obrajes de panos, and jueces de grano.[117] Although the list of legislation favorable to the Indian during the seventeenth century was considerable, seldom was their basic situation altered.

The eighteenth century in Guatemala was little different from the two preceding centuries as far as the Indians were concerned. As a group they continued to remain at the bottom of the social scale as the basic element in the labor pool. Although legislation attempted, as in former times, to protect the Indians from specific avenues of exploitation, their overall effect was largely negligible. Indeed, the century

witnessed in some respects a retrogression to older forms of exploitation. As the depression of the seventeenth century was followed by an upswing in the economy and labor demands increased, the repartimiento was openly and frequently utilized. In 1719 fifty Indians per week from the village of San Juan Amatitlán were placed in repartimientos.[118] Twenty per week were called upon from San Andres Izapa and the valley of Chimaltenango.[119] The practice of placing entire villages in repartimientos for extended periods of time had become commonplace and in 1712 Chinautal, San Amatitlán, Santo Domingo Xenacoj and all of the Indian villages in the valley of Guatemala were so affected. Even religious orders had ceased to be spokesmen for Indian rights as the Jesuits in 1759 made use of Indian laborers from San Juan and San Cristóbal Amatitlán on their sugar cane plantations.[120] The view that the Indian laborers should make themselves available for mandamientos and repartimientos was commonly held throughout the century. The native residents of Santiago Momostenango and Santa María Chiquimula were obliged to work on several occasions on road construction projects.

By the middle of the century when Guatemalan indigo production was being threatened by excellent crop yields from Asia, the crown, in an effort to decrease the effects of this competition, permitted the wholesale conscription of Indian workers, the justification being the familiar one that this would bring to an end the scandalous idleness of the natives. Although the Bourbon reforms of the eighteenth century altered consi-

derably the nature of Spanish colonial administration, they did not lead to any fundamental change for the Indian. Indeed, in the wake of the destruction of Santiago de los Caballeros in 1773 by a violent earthquake, the Indians were again herded into service via the repartimiento for the construction of the new capital.[121] While the sixteenth century was witness to legislation limiting the encomienda and the repartimiento, not to mention the New Laws, all seemed to be forgotten, practically speaking, by the eighteenth century as the forms and style of active exploitation returned to the more severe patterns exercised in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Although the colonial period saw periodic attempts on the part of the audiencia and the crown to legislate in favor of the Indian population, the net effect was always one that was determined more by economic considerations and the frontier conditions in Guatemala than by moral or humanitarian persuasions. The continuing domination of the Spaniards was dependent ultimately upon the subjugation of the Indians. They remained the disadvantaged sector in the economic and social melieu of colonial Guatemala.

The cause of the Indian, however, during the colonial period was not one restricted only to the efforts by Bartolomé de Las Casas and Alonso López de Cerrato in the sixteenth century. The Spanish story in Guatemala included the zealous cleric as well as the ambitious conquistador. The goal of the crown throughout most of the colonial period remained

two-fold. The Indian was not only to be made a good vassal of the crown, but a Spanish Catholic as well. He was to receive and hopefully embrace Christianity. Yet, if Christianization was to remain with any degree of permanence, as many clerics were soon to realize, dictionaries, grammars, and a variety of materials explaining the faith in the Indian language was essential. Studies of Indian customs and traditions, it was felt, were needed. In their production of these materials and to their efforts to undertake effective Christianization programs in the shadow of the conquest, the Indians became the favorite cause of numerous clerics who through their interest and activities would enlarge the ranks of those favoring a more just treatment of the Indians and whose works would provide the foundation for the development of an interest in the Indians at a later date.

Many of the clerics who came to colonial Guatemala and who would become extensively involved with the Indians to the point of advocating protectionistic legislation were products of traditionalism and authoritarianism. They were, nevertheless, men cut from a somewhat different intellectual cloth. They came to the New World for reasons basically different from a desire for the acquisition of wealth and fame. Their motives were those of the missionary. To this challenge many of these clerics would bring a mild discontent with the rigid social structure of their homeland where many of the avenues leading toward vocational achievement were closed. As later events would indicate,

the interest of the clerics in natural history and pragmatic learning created a consciousness somewhat divorced from the intellectual and practical persuasions of the conquistadores.

In their writings and often in their activities on behalf of the Indians the clerics argued for a better idea of justice which would include the natives. Their stand occasionally against the abuses of the Indians in the form of the encomienda, the repartimiento, the mandamiento and the many forms of ever-increasing taxation utilized, including the tribute, by the eighteenth century had approached the ideal and the romantic hope of redemption.[122] Sought was a new kind of well-being. As Mariano Picón-Salas suggested, by the eighteenth century a "jesuitic humanism" was evident in the colonies which indicated that the Indian and his culture should be incorporated into a more universal aesthetic system. Culture, in this context, was to be the agency that would level differences, antagonisms and feelings of inferiority among races.[123] In coming, therefore, to Guatemala and other parts of the New World with at least the fundamentals that would later be termed jesuitic humanism, these indigenista-oriented clerics began to undertake their tasks with a cultural frame of reference often quite different from that of the conquistador.

Bartolomé de Las Casas, besides being consistent in his defense of the Indians, was also steadfast in persuading other clerics to come to the New World. One such cleric was friar Domingo Vico. A native of

Andalucia, Vico came to the New World in either 1534 or 1536 with Las Casas, after having completed his formal education at the University of Salamanca and taking his vows into the Order of Predicadores.[124] Vico accompanied Las Casas on his initial journey through Chiapas and Verapaz and was credited with the founding of numerous settlements in the area. Active until his death at seventy years of age, he was continuously engaged in religious activities in Guatemala, especially in the Chisec region. Various religious works of his were written in Indian languages for the purpose of facilitating the process of conversion, non-violent in its character.[125] He was also the author of several catecismos, an ethnographical study entitled Historia de los indios, sus fábulas, supersticiones y costumbres, and several language studies. His Poesías sagradas de la pasión y los hechos de los apostoles en cakchiquel represented one of his several literary efforts to promote Christianity to the Indians utilizing their own conceptual media.[126] A prolific author and one of the most active clerics in colonial Guatemala, Vico through peaceful and humanitarian persuasions based upon extensive objective study of native languages and cultures, sought to bring Christianity and the Christian ethic to several of the Indian groups in Guatemala.

Another friar active in Verapaz and a defender of the Indian in his own right was Luís Cancer. Born in the province of Aragon and a member of the Order of Predicadores, Luís Cancer was brought to Guatemala by Las Casas for the specific purpose of Christianizing the Indians.

His conversion of the Indian groups in and around the Cobán area in Verapaz was a remarkable success story. One who deeply appreciated and wished to preserve the Indian culture, Cancer capitalized upon those feelings and produced numerous songs, verses, hymns and poems in the Indian dialects to explain the Christian message. His Varias canciones enverso sobre los misterios de la religión para uso de los néofitos de la Vera Paz en lengua Cobán was one of the few that has survived. It represents a unique but effective way of relating to his listeners the Christian story.[127] Up to the time of his death at the hands of an unfriendly cacique, Cancer followed Las Casas in denouncing the encomienda as a completely unjust institution.

Joining with Las Casas and Luís Cancer in their denunciations of the encomienda was Friar Pedro Calvo who came to Guatemala in 1544. By extensive study Calvo mastered the native language of Chiapas and became the first friar to speak to the Indians in their own tongues about the kings of Spain and other non-religious subjects. Until his death in 1550 he remained, like his fellow Dominicans, a vigorous opponent of the encomienda and a spokesman for the contention that the Indians were rational human beings and should be so treated. His Meditaciones espirituales acomodadas y la inteligencia de los néofitos explained in some detail this contention.[128]

As was the case with Las Casas and other clerics in sixteenth-century Guatemala, Friar Tomás de Cárdenas became angry over the

Spaniard's mistreatment of the Indians. Such abuses, he felt, could easily undermine the basically humanitarian efforts of the friars. Later to become archbishop of Chiapas, Tómas de Cárdenas, while serving in Sacapulas, became disturbed about the tribute system. He considered it to be an excessively cruel and arbitrary means of exploiting the Indian populations. So incensed was he with the tribute and related means of taxation that in 1576 he paid the tribute for a group of Indians in his parish with his own funds. His stand for a more just means of relating to the Indians and his works including Doctrina cristiana y documentos morales y políticos en lengua zapoteca, Representaciones al rey sobre el estado de los pueblos de VeraPaz and Arte de la lengua cacchi place him in the front ranks of these early clerics concerned with Spanish-Indian relations and interested in altering the basic nature of these relations.[129]

During the sixteenth century in Guatemala and elsewhere the Indian on various occasions had become the chief topic of consideration in the crown's attempt to administer its colonial empire. By the seventeenth century, however, and in the decades to follow before independence, the Indian problem seemed relatively unimportant as the question of the viability of the Spanish economy, threats of foreign encroachment in Spanish colonial territories and events in Europe relegated to a matter of secondary importance the Indian question.

An interest in the Indian populations of Guatemala, however, did

not abruptly end during the seventeenth century. Although the appeal for human rights in behalf of the Indians had lessened in degree, there were numerous studies and commentaries produced on the Indian populations. Friar Estéban de Avilés with his Historia de Guatemala provided a detailed account of the Indian cultures that he encountered. Numerous language studies were produced by clerics during this period. The Quiché language was studied by friars Juan Molina, Damian Delgado, and Domingo Basseta; the Cakchiquel language by Tomás de la Cruz, Estéban Castáñeda, Juan Alonso, and José Angel Zenoyo; and the Zendal and Mam languages by Melchor Gómez, Luís Gonzáles and Jerónimo de la Cruz respectively. These works and numerous others which included religious tracts and travel logs provided an impressive body of knowledge of the Indians in Guatemala.[130]

Throughout most of the eighteenth century the Indians of the New World had been replaced by topics of a broader scope among those wishing to criticize the crown and its colonial institutions. During this period overt feelings of discontent were beginning to be formulated. Spanish monopolistic practices and traditionalism as well as the entire Spanish administrative and institutional structure operative in the New World were beginning to be seen as handicaps rather than advantages by many influential clerics and civil officials in the colonies not to mention the creoles. Many seemed to be looking for a new order to replace that which had existed since the initial conquests. The humanistic orienta-

tion exhibited by many clerics in Guatemala toward the Indians during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would assume eventually new directions. Included were those of a new nationalism, the feeling that local institutions were better than those of the crown, and the contention that a new political and social order free from the restrictive tendencies of Spanish mercantilism and colonialism would be advantageous to all. Encouraged by the development of a wider scope of references, new perceptions and interests appeared in the writings and achievements of individuals like Rafael Landívar, Andrés Cavo, and Francisco Javier Clavijero. Their points of view became included within the movement toward independence and separation from Spain.

Of those writing during this period, Rafael Landívar remains the most celebrated in Guatemalan letters. Although not an indigenista in the contemporary understanding of the term, Landívar was instrumental with his work Rusticatio Mexicana in creating an atmosphere that would urge writers and indigenistas years later to consider the Indian with respect to his environment and the circumstances therein. Educated at the University of San Carlos and a member of the Jesuit Order, Landívar in 1755, after his ordination, was ready to embark on what promised to be a long and productive career.[131] However, in 1767 his expulsion along with other members of his order forced him to leave Guatemala. He wrote his masterpiece Rusticatio Mexicana in Italy.[132]

Wishing to return to his native land, Rafael Landívar in Rusticatio

Mexicana dealt with Guatemala in poetic detail. He described its flora and fauna and particularly its native inhabitants, the Indians. At times approaching in style that of a heroic ode, Landívar presented an environment of boundless beauty in which there lived a noble rural Indian population whose labors, genius and natural simplicity he greatly admired.[133] The Indian was seen as a being with natural capabilities that had been conditioned by an environment devoid of the Spaniard. For those who perused Rusticatio Mexicana, the Indian was seen to be as natural a part of Guatemala as its striking physical characteristics. It would be this viewpoint that would become a central premise in the indigenista thought of the twentieth century as scholars would refer to Landívar's masterpiece as a poetic summary of Guatemala and its Indians.[134]

The clerics and others who had argued for justice for the Indians in Guatemala and who had appealed to the crown's sense of humanitarianism on their behalf throughout the colonial period did not constitute an early group of indigenistas in the strict sense of the term. Antonio García Córdoba, a student and later an official at the Universidad de San Carlos, represented an exception to this. In arguing against the thesis that Indians suffered from a natural debility, he advocated Indian rights and the mixing of the Ladino and the Indian elements in Guatemala. This view was shared by García Córdoba's associates in The Sociedad Económica de Amigos de País who periodically championed

Indian rights.[135] Further, their arguments were protectionistic in character. They wished not so much to alter fundamentally the status of the Indian in colonial society as to protect him from excessive exploitation and possible extermination.

The legislation which was passed at different points in time which had been supported by Bartolomé de Las Casas and others including the Laws of Burgos, the New Laws and folios of separate decrees were largely protectionistic. They were designed to limit the excesses of Spanish institutions. Only Las Casas traveled the uncertain path of basic practicality on two occasions and attempted first at Cumaná and later in Vera Paz and Chiapas to establish a social system which would include in a positive and much less exploitative manner the Indian and his culture. Yet, in the final analysis, it was the Spaniard who remained at the apex of the schemes promoted by Las Casas and it was the Spaniard with his religion and his social and economic institutions who remained the final authority. Under the body of laws which governed Spain's colonial empire, the Indian remained the victim of the conquest. He was the vanquished.

Rather than an integrated system of laws which could have considered the Indian and Spaniard alike, Spanish law was directed actually to two republics, that of the Indian and that of the Spaniard. One writer, Magnus Morner, has referred to this as the practice of racial segregation. The Indian under the law as well as in the daily pattern of life

was kept apart from the Spaniard. Under such a system the complete and unrestrained integration of the Indian which is basic to many modern indigenistas simply did not occur. Even an exponent of Indian justice as vociferous as Las Casas or an official as dedicated as López de Cerrato were unable to alter irrevocably the basic circumstances endured by the Indian populations in Guatemala.

The conquest and many of the institutions that emerged from it in colonial Guatemala in relation to the Indians represent the antithesis of modern indigenismo. Throughout the colonial period the most clearly defined needs of the crown in areas like Guatemala which were not endowed with vast amounts of mineral wealth were tribute, labor and land. As only the Indian could satisfy these needs, their exploitation remained fundamental as the overall consequence of the conquest. The first few decades of the colonial period was witness to the outright exploitation and enslavement of the Indians. From 1540 to approximately 1630 the Indians lost their lands and were incorporated into the hacienda system in large numbers. From 1630 until the end of the century the pressure upon the Indian population in this era of depression was intense as the Spaniards induced various means to assure and maintain their economic and social position, their dominance. From 1790 until the end of the colonial period the Indian served as the labor force in the boom and bust economy that would come to characterize Guatemala and which involved at different times indigo and cacao.

What those in the colonial period who argued for Indian justice managed to accomplish was to provide the spade work for those in the twentieth century who would develop the indigenista persuasion in its various medias of expression. Las Casas and others provided an impetus for interest in the Indian as they collectively seemed to suggest that the predominantly Indian region of Guatemala needed an identity and a social and political system that would not operate to destroy this basic factor in the Guatemalan identity. Indigenismo emerged as an antithetical reaction to the conquest and the nearly four hundred years of exploitation which followed it.

# NOTES

## CHAPTER I

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to their arguments such as Bartolomé de Las Casas, all tended to exaggerate the number of Indians present in a given area at a specific time. Conquistadores as well as clerics were prone to such exaggerations as they attempted to glorify their accomplishments or explain their failures in reports to the crown. Rosenblat's estimate of 800,000 for all of Central America is more realistic than some of the figures employed by Las Casas in his works.

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# CHAPTER II

## THE SEARCH FOR A LEGISLATIVE IDENTITY

The movement for Central American independence from Spain involved few armed encounters compared to the same movement in Mexico and in much of South America. The colonial government had been relatively successful in keeping the news of revolts elsewhere in the hemisphere from the colonists. Events such as the French Revolution with its poetic theme of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and the American Revolution which espoused, among other things, the right of revolution and the inalienable rights of man, were but muted echoes in Guatemala. The motivations for independence seemed based upon other factors and considerations in Central America, particularly the Creole mistrust and dislike of the peninsulares, who traditionally occupied the most prestigious and remunerative social and economic positions. Although certain measures were taken in 1808 to calm local unrest, including the granting to Creoles the same rights and privileges as peninsulares and some legal reforms, their effects were only temporary. By 1821 separation from Spain had been achieved.[1]

Throughout the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the Indians, who still constituted the majority of the population in Guatemala,

were but an inert force. The privileges, rights and advantages were destined for the Creoles. Long reminded that they were, in effect, second class citizens, the Creoles were quick to secure the new reins of power and advantage for themselves. That the Indian would not be effectively included as an element in this exchange of power was a foregone conclusion. Although a royal decree in 1801 had sought to end the long-standing problem of the lack of legal representation for the Indians by ordering lawyers to take periodic turns in defending or taking cases involving them, their use even in 1803 as essentially forced laborers was confirmed as the audiencia directed its attention to the allotment of Indians by corregidores and alcaldes mayores.[2] The repartimiento was still in operation not only in principle but in name as well. The hacienda with its system of debt peonage was the major agrarian institution.

With the exception of a revolt in Cobán against the alcalde mayor by the natives who burned and sacked the homes of the Ladinos, the Indian generally remained docile and peaceful and was easily manipulated by those wishing to gain some advantage at his expense. Few Creoles were interested in protecting the rights of the Indians. Those Creloes appointed to the office of Protector of Indians so frequently through their Creole attorneys exploited the natives that they were forbidden the use of attorneys. The collection of excessive fees for ser-

vices rendered had been commonplace.[3] The alcalde mayor of Totonicapán and Huehuetenango, writing to the audiencia in 1809, noted the lack of persons residing in his area who were either interested or willing to assume the role of protector of Indian rights.[4] The Indians remained the tribute-paying laborers with little judicial recourse until 1811 when the cortes generales decreed the end of the tribute. With but a few notable exceptions, the first tumultuous years of the nineteenth century passed leaving the Indians as they had been in the colonial period. Seldom were they participants or leaders in the events of the period and rarely were they the topics of major legislation of any kind.

The Cádiz constitution of 1812 written by Spanish liberals stated that all men were born free and that the Indians were indeed citizens of Spain. Whatever reform and change this constitution promised was promptly rejected as Ferdinand VII in 1814 abrogated the constitution and sought to return Spain to the absolutism of earlier years.[5] The mandamiento, the repartimiento, and other services demanded of the Indians which had been abolished by the cortes of Cádiz were restored in 1815.[6] A revolt against tribute collection as well as other grievances occurred in Totonicapán in 1812. Before it was concluded it involved Indian groups from San Francisco el Alto, Momostenango, San Andrés Xecul, San Cristóbal, San Miguel Totonicapán, Santa María Chiquimula, and San Gaspar Chabul. Also involved were the Ladino aldeas of San Luís Sahcaja and San Carlos Siji.[7]

Although the primary cause of the revolt was displeasure over the payment of the tribute, there were other underlying reasons which led the leaders of the revolt, Atanasio Tzul and Lucas Aguilar, to select the path of armed resistance and violence. The rebellion was essentially expressive of the Indians' dissatisfaction, punctuated as it was by the repartimiento and the mandamiento and their continued existence as subjugated and exploited beings in an environment of perpetual servitude. The only means by which the Indians were able to maintain their qualities as Indians was to cling tenaciously to their own customs and traditions and certain aspects of their own religions. With virtually no means of controlling their destiny, their liberty even as individuals was conditioned and patterned by others, particularly non-Indian alcaldes. Indian leaders served basically as agents of the dominant class and more often than not held the opinion of their superiors that the Indians were incapable, ignorant, and immoral.

In Totonicapán, located in a zone important for its industry and commercial activities, troubles with the Indians actually began in 1813 when Marcico Mallol, the alcalde mayor of the area, beat an Indian. This incident plus the underlying objections to Ladino encroachment on Indian lands, brought the Indians to the point of revolt. Although the discontent and looting which followed was quelled, general unrest appeared again in 1816 when the Indians openly demonstrated against the collection of the tribute.[8] All that was needed to spark an open revolt was a per-

sonality to elucidate and direct this ill-feeling. Such a person was Atanasio Tzul.

Atanasio Tzul, an Indian of about sixty years of age in 1820, had formerly been alcalde of his village and had gained some initial political experience in 1816 when he had openly protested the payment of the tribute.[9] Lucas Aguilar, also a farmer, was another important chief of the rebellion. During the revolt most of the Spanish authorities in the area fled for their lives. Those who remained were jailed. To make legitimate his action Tzul crowned himself king of the Quichés and adopted the Spanish symbols of authority including a staff of office, Spanish dress, a three-cornered hat and a medallion of office. A constitution was proclaimed and Aguilar was named president. The two men then sought to govern their newly acquired realm which they hoped would be totally separate and free from Spanish influence or domination.[10]

The kingdom of the two illiterate Indians, however, was to be short-lived. King Tzul ruled for twenty-nine days before he was apprehended by Spanish authorities and jailed in Quezaltenango along with some forty other individuals.[11] Unlike the earlier spontaneous uprisings that had occurred in Guatemala, the Totonicapán revolt was planned. In this respect it was similar to the 1780 revolt in Peru headed by José Gabriel Condorcanqui or Tupac Amaru. Although the revolt was doomed to failure, it did represent the ultimate and desperate act of a subjugated people to end continued oppression and institute a means to express

their social identity as a group. The Indians' role, however, after this brief experiment with liberty, would remain unaltered to a large extent until the twentieth century.

In this somewhat confusing sequence of events leading first to Guatemala's independence from Spain, then its tie with Agustín Iturbide in Mexico and lastly the establishment of the federation of Central American states, the Indian was not a principal participant. The wealthy Creoles in Guatemala City to a considerable degree had directed the developments and had made the decisions. They had supplanted the positions of influence formerly held by the chapetones and the officials of the Spanish crown. In September of 1821 when Captain General Gabino Gaínza called a conference of public authorities and influential citizens to consider the plan of guarantees that had been sent from Mexico by Iturbide, the Creoles were those present.[12]

The document stated that Mexico and the kingdom of Guatemala should declare independence from Spain and invite a Spanish prince to come to the New World to rule them jointly as an independent empire. It emphasized that the Catholic Church should be the only religious authority and that Creoles and chapetones should forget their differences and live peacefully together. The plan of guarantees, however, contained no comment on the intended destiny of the Indian majority. Although Gaínza and the junta placed in charge of affairs illegally voted to join Iturbide in what amounted to a plan of annexation, the latter's fall from power in 1823

left Central America alone to determine its own destiny. By December of 1823 a federation had been established.[13]

The federation experienced other difficulties that obscured the entire problem of the Indian. In their eagerness to dissolve the Spanish tax system, the legislators abolished the tribute system, the royal fifth, the tobacco monopoly, and the interior customs houses, all of which had been important sources of revenue. The direct taxes which were to supplant these sources brought in precious little revenue. This coupled with the fact that each state was self-oriented rather than directed toward the federation, spelled economic disaster for the new experience in government. Added to the economic problems was a political one. Each state had liberal groups which opposed the Church and conservative groups usually composed of landowners and merchants who supported it. Disagreement over religious issues was commonplace.[14] Seldom was an agreement reached on any question, political or otherwise.

With the exception of Dr. Pedro Molina who had actively supported independence from Spain in Guatemala and who had made emotional appeals in his newspaper on behalf of "el miserable indio, nuestro sustentador, nuestro verdadero hermano," the only legal acts of consequence for the Indians during this entire period were the constitutional articles in 1823 which raised Guatemalan Indians to the category of citizens. This was important chiefly in the sense that they set legal precedent.[15] In effect, the Indians were citizens by constitutional decree only. Long

kept apart from the mainstream of political events and tenaciously clinging to their own customs and traditions, the Indians maintained their identity and preserved elements of their culture by demonstrating only a surface acceptance of Spanish and later Creole cultural traits, values, and practices. Yet even this semipermeable shield of cultural separateness of the Indians was to be challenged by the newly constituted authorities in Guatemala as they sought by a legislative decree in October of 1824 to extinguish the use of native languages and promote the use of Spanish throughout Guatemala.

The only effort made in these early years of independence to make viable the concept of Indian citizenry was a legislative act passed on February 21 of 1825 to provide scholarships to Indian students wishing to attend the Colegio Tridentino. Particular attention was to be paid to those having the qualifications necessary for service in the choir.[16] In the political confusion during Guatemala's first decade of independence, the situation of the Indian stood little chance of improvement as the Creoles, often untrained in political affairs and inadequately prepared for independence, attempted to direct the affairs of state. As the traveler Henry Dunn noted in 1827, the Guatemalan Indian, possessing an honorable yet passive character, was quite poor, subsisting only upon a meager diet of corn and was probably more advanced morally, civically, and intellectually at the time of the conquest than in 1827.[17] Dunn described the Indians as indolent and utterly ignorant. Presidents in the

state of Guatemala between 1824 and 1831 including such individuals as Juan Barrundia, Manuel José Arce and Pedro Molina failed to concentrate their attentions upon the Indian majority of Guatemala. The majority had not been identified in any real sense as having any part whatever in the destiny of the nation.[18]

With the coming of Mariano Gálvez to the presidency in August of 1831, Guatemala experienced a liberal progressivism for the first time. A Guatemalan by birth, a distinguished lawyer and a member of the independence movement in 1821, Gálvez succeeded in kicking off an energetic legislative program entailing numerous reforms. In attempting to lessen the burden of poverty and ignorance he encouraged agriculture, constructed new roads, opened the port of Iztapa on the Pacific coast, encouraged the development of commerce and industry, and distributed land to colonization companies. His general school system, emphasizing the natural and social sciences as well as practical subjects such as agriculture, hygiene, and commerce, promised to revolutionize and revitalize the training of Guatemalans of all ages. He believed that the success of Guatemala as a republic rested upon the presence of an educated populace. The state was therefore responsible and obligated to meet the educational needs of all its people regardless of age, race, religion, or ability.[19] His complete revision of the tax system, the ending of monopolies, the establishment of free trade, the revision of the penal system, the introduction of the Livingston code, and numerous

other changes, taken as a whole, indicated that a new and progressive Guatemala devoid of colonial institutions and customs was the promise of the future.

Although the major portion of Gálvez's reforms were not geared particularly for the Indian population of Guatemala, he doubtlessly was cognizant of their numerical majority and included within his vast legislative program some earnest attempts toward alleviating the problems confronting them. In August of 1831, a few days after gaining power, he instructed the commandant of Petén, Juan Galindo, to deal diplomatically with the natives of the area and attempt to achieve a "modus vivendi" with them, a primary condition being their exemption from taxation for a ten-year period. Gálvez seemed to recognize that the native majority not only in Petén but throughout Guatemala was, indeed, apart from the national entity and sought to encourage social integration by recognizing at the outset Indian cultural autonomy.[20] He apparently felt as a humanitarian as well as an astute political leader that the Indians should be made a part of and should have a role in the national development of Guatemala, but not at the expense of extinguishing their own cultural heritage.[21]

Mariano Gálvez selected the realm of education to be the operative medium for beginning his Indian program. By a government decree in March of 1832, it was stipulated that the majority of those students attending schools in the departments were to be Indian children. Scholar-

ships for such children were to be provided by the government and were to be made available to Indians between the ages of five and twenty years of age.[22] Included in the statutes for primary instruction was an article stipulating that an award of a gold medallion would be granted to the person who presented during the year 1836 the method judged as best for teaching the Indians Spanish.[23] Included in the statutes on education in general was the statement that the Indian was not to be excluded from receiving the benefits of a state sponsored education and that providing for such was an obligation of the state.[24] Private individuals willing to sponsor the education of an Indian child were encouraged to do so as well as participate in the organization of primary schools in the departments where they resided. Gálvez's aim was to instigate an educational program that would combat the intellectual backwardness and ignorance that characterized Guatemala at this time.[25] It was hoped that through such a program of primary education for Indian children that future Indian regidores and alcaldes and other Indian officials would be literate and better able to function in their positions of authority.[26]

Concurrent with the statutes on education regarding the Indian were several other decrees which in their design were to operate on behalf of the native population. In March of 1836 a legislative decree stated that the Indian inhabitants of Verapaz and Totonicapán were to come under the protection of the laws of the state and that the government was to extend these laws to all Indian groups in the territory of Guate-

mala with the goal of incorporating these groups into the state. The following year a decree provided that no group of laborers or jornaleros could be compelled to work without a contract that had been previously negotiated and formulated between said workers and the proprietors.[27] Indians in 1835 had been exempted from personal service and when such service was deemed necessary, it was only to be tentative and appropriate salaries were to be paid. Taken as a whole, Gálvez's effort to incorporate the Indian was genuine, but, as subsequent events would indicate, only temporary.

Although a few citizens recognized the need for many of Gálvez's reforms which may be considered a natal form of indigenismo, the general population who were politically aware did not. The colonial institutions and customs which the majority of the population of just over a million had experienced for so many years were not easily discarded and forgotten.[28] When Gálvez attempted to undertake measures to stop a cholera epidemic from spreading, the continuing viability of the colonial heritage became evident. As the cholera spread southward from Chiapas in 1837, Gálvez sought to avoid a panic among the populace by ordering physicians into the area with medicines and ordering that burial processions be halted.[29] The Indians, feeling that the physicians were trying to poison them and that their rights as well as their religious beliefs were being threatened by Gálvez's declaration for civil marriages and for jury trials, these being damaging to the Catholic cler-

gy whom they saw as their defenders, refused to cooperate and expelled the physicians. They rejected the liberal programs.[30]

At this juncture revolt was in the making and Rafael Carrera succeeded in placing himself at the head of this anti-Gálvez movement. Unable to overcome the opposition, Gálvez resigned in January of 1838 and left Guatemala for Mexico, never to return to Guatemala or to politics.[31] With Gálvez's departure of course went most of his reform programs including his legislative efforts on behalf of the Indians. Until his death, however, he would frequently speak of the need of incorporating the Indian, improving his education, and taking measures to keep him from being defrauded or molested as well as providing laws that would not be contrary to his customs and traditions.[32] Although it would be difficult to conclude that Gálvez was an indigenista, some of his programs and legislative designs were indigenista in character and similar to those which would be implemented in the twentieth century. Gálvez had attempted to include the Indian in his concept of Guatemala as a nation. In this effort he sought to identify the Indian as a component of the totality of Guatemala. He felt that the Indian with education and legislation designed to protect him from exploitation could be westernized or, to use a more exact term, ladinoized. He ultimately would be given the identity of a Ladino.[33]

The power vacuum created by Gálvez's resignation, filled by Rafael Carrera some six years later, involved frequently shifting political al-

liances and a rapid succession of presidents who seldom remained in office for more than one year. It was during the first of three terms of office of Dr. Mariano Rivera Paz and particularly in 1839 that an effort toward an Indian program was made. In August of 1839 the constituent assembly passed a decree which was designed to protect the Indians and improve their level of civilization. Expressed was the contention that this was in the public interest. To implement this decree government officials were to see that all legal questions concerning Indians be appropriately presented and handled by government agencies. A commission of five individuals was to function as protectors of Indian rights. It was to see the general improvement of the Indians and the bettering of their conditions of livelihood.[34]

How the commission was to achieve this was not spelled out. The decree at least gave the Indians a juridic personality. Yet any depth and range of understanding of the Indian situation at this time was simply not to be found. Ignoring the fact that the Indians had been exploited relentlessly since the sixteenth century and that this might account in part for their unfortunate state, the constituent assembly viewed their misery as being a result of another factor. Their excessive use of aguardiente was the demon of their distress. On November 25, 1839 the manufacture and sale of aguardiente in Indian villages was prohibited.[35]

Although the decree concerned with the Indians' consumption of

aguardiente was short-sighted, legislation passed the following day, November 26, 1839, did hold the promise of the beginning of an effective Indian program. The decree stipulated that mayors or gobernadores of Indian communities were to be named by the corregidores in each department and that these new officials were to receive their instructions from the corregidores. Ascertaining the business of each inhabitant, noting those who were ill, surveying the size of all milpa holdings in their community, observing what crops were being produced and easing the pains of those who were unfortunate were the duties assigned to these new gobernadores. In conjunction with this all corregidores were ordered to center their attentions upon the Indians living in their area of authority and support all efforts directed toward the improvement of their circumstances.[36]

This, the first extensive legislative attempt since the Gálvez reforms to deal with and improve the lot of the Indians was submerged as current political uncertainties and frequent changes in government focused attention upon other matters, particularly Rafael Carrera. Again a set of laws which could have generated practices beneficial to and involving Indians did not develop. Gálvez and Mariano Rivera Paz could be viewed as philosophical indigenistas in that their intent and overview of the Indian problem was indigenista. They could not be considered indigenistas in any practical sense as their plans never reached any degree of fruition. Mariano Rivera Paz seemed to be seeking a basic

understanding of what constituted rural Indian Guatemala and the reality of this rural setting.

The period from 1844 to 1865, the era of Rafael Carrera who firmly held the reins of state either personally or through puppet presidents, was one in which the Indians for nearly all intents and purposes were tangential residents in Guatemala. Efforts to improve their economic, social or educational circumstances were few. Although many Indians in expressing their opposition to the Gálvez reforms had lent their support to Carrera and had filled the ranks of his army, and although a few Indians were appointed to minor military and civil posts, the majority would be unaffected subsequently by Carrera's policies. A notable exception was 1851 when a decree was passed stating that Indian workers complying with a particular mandamiento were to be paid punctually and treated well, given medical aid when necessary, and educated in schools designed to teach them Spanish.[37]

The whims and accomplishments of the dictator, however, became the political focal point for this period.[38] Few were the opportunities to implement long-range legislative programs for the integration of the Indians. Carrera's energies were directed chiefly toward discrediting the Liberal Party in Guatemala, subjecting the highlands to national control and maintaining Guatemala's independence from any efforts toward federation. His efforts toward ending the handicaps of an economic monoculture which could have meant the beginning of some eco-

nomic improvement for the Indians were unsuccessful largely because of conditions existing at the time. The Catholic clergy and the aristocracy which had supported Carrera were more interested in exploiting their recently regained position of influence and potential that had been threatened during the Gálvez years than sponsoring an extensive program of reform designed to alleviate the misery of the Indian. When the Indians who had supported Carrera witnessed his success over the Liberals, they returned to the security of their highland villages. By 1851, the mandamiento was reinstituted. Carrera in the same year, however, did order a compilation of juridical proceedings to be followed in questions involving Indians and at various points in his period of rule reinstituted those portions of Spanish colonial legislation that had provided legal protection to the Indians.[39]

That reaction to over two decades of suppression would eventually become expressive was to be expected. Carrera's death in 1865 had left the Conservatives with the problem of finding a suitable replacement. Vicente Cerna, selected by Carrera to replace him, lacked the presence and initiative of his former chief and was unable to quell the reaction that would soon unseat him.[40]

In 1869 when Vicente Cerna was just beginning his second term in office open opposition to continued Conservative rule had been evident for some time. Serapio Cruz led the first revolt against Cerna and his Conservative supporters but was unsuccessful.[41] Subsequent attempts

by Cruz and Justo Rufino Barrios likewise proved unsuccessful, Barrios fleeing to Mexico. It was in Mexico, however, that Barrios eventually joined with another prominent liberal refugee, Miguel García Granados and together they were able to topple the Conservatives from power. Financial assistance from Guatemalan Liberals, from the United States, and support from Benito Juárez in Mexico, helped their cause. By June of 1871 the Liberals were in complete control and García Granados had been elected as provisional president. After a brief experience in the presidency in which the Liberals cemented their new political power, García Granados stepped aside, allowing Justo Rufino Barrios to fulfill the promise of a popular and progressive government.[42]

Justo Rufino Barrios, Guatemalan by birth and a lawyer by profession, in many respects was the ideal of a nineteenth-century Liberal.[43] An individual of character and considerable presence, he had exhibited in his opposition to Cerna anticlericalism and a strong desire to bring progress and civilization to Guatemala. He was an astute and persuasive man of firm convictions who believed that democratic principles rather than medievalism held the hope for Guatemala. Wielding considerable power, he was able to control the political destinies of Guatemala from 1873 until 1885. He gathered the most enlightened leaders around him and brought a considerable number of changes to Guatemala.

Seeing the Catholic Church as the obstacle to Liberal progress, Barrios so limited its influence that it virtually had no role whatsoever

in public affairs. The Jesuit Order was expelled as were many in the Church hierarchy. Nunneries were forbidden and religious endowments were placed under state management. Clerics were placed under state management. Clerics were forbidden a role in public education. Civil marriages became obligatory, public religious processions were disallowed, and a good percentage of the Church's land holdings were confiscated.[44]

The Liberal reforms, however, entailed much more than an active anticlericalism. In an effort to end the patria chica orientation of local officials and to create a form of local government more consistent with the national government, the duties and responsibilities of the jefes políticos, or provincial governors were more clearly defined. Charged with numerous duties including the maintenance of public order, the protection of life and property, the regulation of relations between Ladinos and Indians, the prosecution of law breakers, and numerous other tasks, the jefe político was periodically to report to the national government and was subject to review. By encouraging new industries, promoting agricultural diversification and enforcing the laws on public education, the provincial governor was to become an arm of the central government and an agent of liberal reform.

Numerous were the efforts undertaken by Barrios to create a more modern Guatemala. Through a series of arrangements with the United States, technologists were contracted for building railroads, installing

plumbing, introducing agricultural machinery, constructing telephone and telegraph lines, and organizing an electrical system.[45] Experts were sent in for advice in the cultivation of crops. Barrios began an extensive road construction program and opened new ports in an effort to improve transportation and stimulate commerce. In an effort to create a more diversified economy, potential producers of coffee, bananas, rubber, and cacao were given financial inducements of various types. The entire banking system of the country was overhauled and improved considerably with the establishment of a National Bank and later the Banco Agrícola de Occidente. Education was promoted throughout the republic. Yet how did all of this affect the Indian in Guatemala?

With but a few notable exceptions, the liberal and progressive revolution was only felt by the non-Indian population of Guatemala. Although Barrios travelled extensively throughout the country and seemed to take an immense pride in associating with the humble poor of the country, he essentially regarded the Indian as would a patron, a race to be exploited.[46] The lands of the Indians, as those of the Church, were frequently confiscated as new haciendas employing hundreds of Indian laborers were developed. Under Barrios the mandamiento was not ended but expanded and a new vagrancy law was adopted which was utilized as the legal means of gathering potential Indian laborers not snared by the mandamiento.[47]

There were, however, a few laws designed to favor the Indian popu-

lace of Guatemala. In December of 1871, apparently realizing that often the distinction between Ladinos and Indians was one which was a potential problem for government, particularly at the local level, a decree was passed allowing for the election of Indian municipal officials in San Pedro Pinula. Effectively speaking, for the first time since the colonial period the sanctioning of local Indian governmental officials came from the national government. In this case there was to be a Ladino alcalde and an Indian alcalde as well as three Ladino regidores and three Indian regidores.[48] Another primary step was taken in October of 1876 when it was declared by governmental decree that the Indians of San Pedro Sacatepéquez were to be accorded the same legal rights as Ladinos and were to be permitted to wear Ladino clothing. With these two decrees the promise of equality of status before the law and equality of local political rights was at least expressed in legal form.[49]

With three decrees passed in 1879, 1880, and 1881, an effort was made to open educational facilities to Indians. Intended as measures to alter the incapacity of the Indians and to educate them, the decree passed on September 6, 1879 incorporated the municipality of Jocotenango, populated largely by natives, into Guatemala City and founded a school which would be dedicated exclusively to the "civilization" of the Indians. Yields from the communal lands of Jocotenango were to be used to support the school. In the following year Barrios established in Quezaltenango a preparatory school for Indian children.[50] In 1881

a liceo for Indian girls was set up in Cobán where it was hoped that the future students would not only be able to learn Spanish but would receive the opportunity to learn a practical trade and "las nociones mas indispensables para la vida práctica."[51] These schools constituted another limited beginning toward an indigenista-oriented educational program. Educate the Indian and they will become an operative part of republican Guatemala seemed to be the underlying philosophy. Although the Indians might be incorporated into the Liberal scheme of things through education, they were to remain under Barrios, as under former regimes, the basic labor element in Guatemala and still the exploited sector of Guatemala.

In 1876 in an effort to lend encouragement to the production of coffee, a decree was passed allowing jefes políticos to assign agricultural workers to various coffee fincas. On the one hand the decree sought to limit some of the abusive practices of those employing Indian laborers, but on the other hand it attempted to provide the labor force necessary for the expansion of this new industry. Coffee production in 1870 had amounted to 113,000 quintales and Barrios hoped to increase this considerably by instituting labor controls as well as the limitation of taxes and duties.[52] The decree specified the number of Indian workers in a given area who could be assigned as finca laborers. Salaries to be paid such workers were to be verified as fair by the local alcalde. Finqueros defrauding their workers were to be punished and all laborers were sub-

ject to the vagrancy laws. At this point in his regime, Justo Rufino Barrios saw the Indian laborer as the key to economic improvement and utilized his position to achieve this goal. By 1880 coffee production had increased by over one hundred and fifty percent.

A decree which became law in April 1877, sought to regularize the nature of labor relationships between employers and employees. Under this law the patron or his authorized representative was to maintain order on his finca, assure that his workers did not owe debts to another patron, provide living quarters and a plot of land for personal use for each jornalero and his family, permit his employees to contract for work elsewhere if they so desired with written consent from the patron, and provide the worker with a libreto stating the particular terms of his work contract and his financial obligation if any to the patron.[53] The patrones were to provide an adequate and sanitary diet to the workers, provide a free school on fincas where ten percent or more workers and their families were permanently housed and make available to the nearest governmental authority a list of those jornaleros obligated to work on the roads. The patrones were not to punish their workers in any way but were to turn over troublesome cases to local authorities. Failure to comply with these several provisions would draw fines.

Under the decree workers were divided into three groups, colonos, jornaleros habilitados and jornaleros no habilitados. A colono was defined as a laborer who both resided and worked on a given finca, usually

by contract or rent arrangements. The colono was obligated to make himself available for work for a stated salary and the contract was not to be for a period in excess of four years. The colono was not to leave the finca without written permission from the patron. A jornalero habilitado worked for wages only, this often being paid in advance. The jornalero no habilitado was to work as his counterpart, but would receive a salary upon completion of his tasks. Both the colonos and particularly the jornaleros were subject to the mandamiento, the number to be taken from a given finca not to exceed seventy. If the work site for a crew secured via a mandamiento was located in the same department, the service time was to be between eight and fifteen days. If outside the department where the finca was located, one month was to be the service time. All workers were further subject to military service and were to be registered with the local military commander.[54] Although the decree did not provide for the punishment of patrones or government officials who exploited the Indian workers, the decree was more a justification for the use of Indian laborers than an effort to protect their rights.

The Indian remained under the Liberal regime of Justo Rufino Barrios a second-class citizen. The indigenista persuasion of Barrios was essentially limited to an effort to promote the education of the Indian. Barrios wanted the Indian to be raised to Ladino standards. Forced labor laws he believed were a necessity if Guatemala were to

advance agriculturally, particularly in coffee production.[55] As on many previous occasions the needs of the boom and bust economy of Guatemala had taken precedence over the basic needs of the Indian. Although philosophically speaking Barrios recognized the potential of the Indian majority and through legislation attempted to preserve some aspects of this potential, he could not be considered an indigenista. The Indian legislation passed during his tenure of office was not designed to alter the basic status of the Indian. Indeed, by the end of his regime the Indian sector had migrated to the expanding hacienda system leaving fewer Indians in possession of their own lands. Barrios, in effect, held on to the view that the Indians were to be utilized for the benefit of the nation.

With but a few exceptions the presidential regime of Manuel Lisandro Barillas, 1885-1892, was to bring no major developments to a slowly evolving indigenismo. Lisandro Barillas's success in carrying out the reforms of his predecessor was severely limited. He did, however, in December of 1889 pass legislation geared toward granting legal title to lands held by Indians in Alta Verapaz.[56] The decree referred to only one area of Guatemala and did not concern the Indians living in the rest of the republic.

However, under the regime of José María Reina Barrios considerable attention was given to the Indian situation. During his term of office, a period when the first national printing press was established and when social life, the arts and new industries were encouraged, the

Indian was not completely forgotten. Reina Barrios recognized that the Indian majority was not effectively part of the Guatemalan national experience and in 1892 he took the first step in several decades to do something about it. In an effort to include the Indian in this experience, his exclusion being seen as an obstacle to the country's progress, he called an assembly whose task was to arrive at a system whereby the level of civilization of the Indians could be improved.

All who were interested were encouraged to present their ideas in written form. Authors were to provide a critical commentary on the actual state of the Indians and what could be done to improve their lot. The errors of past experiences since the conquest were to be given special consideration. The authors of the three winning essays were to be given prizes of two thousand, one thousand, and five hundred dollars respectively. It was an effort to understand systematically the plight of the Indians. This step was designed to gather opinions and encourage interest in the Indian problem and arrive at some solutions to the problem that could be put into practice legally and otherwise. Reina Barrios believed that if the Indians were exposed to Ladinos some advance could be made. This exposure was to serve in breaking down the separateness of the Indians. In 1892 in the municipalities of Sumpango in Sacatepéquez and Alzatate in Jalapa were declared to be composed legally of both Indians and Ladinos. In the municipality of Totonicapán another decree accorded Indians the same burial rights as Ladinos.

In the same year the president decreed that all Indians in Alta Verapaz and Baja Verapaz were to be exempt from military service during the school year. Such exemption was to be for the purpose of teaching the Indians Spanish.[57]

On October 23, 1893 Reina Barrios declared that from the fifteenth of March 1894 all mandamientos for jornaleros of Indian blood were to be abolished. Beyond this date Indian jornaleros were free to negotiate labor contracts with whomever they wished.[58] With this decree the institution that had been the most abusive of the Indians since the first decades of the sixteenth century was ended. Swept out with the mandamiento would be the financial payoffs from finqueros to willing administrators and bureaucrats for special consideration and a host of other irregularities that fostered dishonest government.

The underlying motive behind the issuance of this decree was that the mandamiento denied to the Indians their constitutionally guaranteed rights of liberty, equality, personal security, and the security of one's property. The decree further affirmed that the mandamiento was in opposition to several basic goals of the current administration, these being the emancipation of the Indians from their state of prostration and their improvement through education. Implied was the contention that economic development could only occur in a system where labor agreements could be formulated freely and openly between all parties involved. This decree which must have been a surprise to

many Guatemalan landowners who utilized the mandamiento was followed by another on October 24, 1893, which provided for separate municipal elections for Indian and Ladino officials in Totonicapán, this providing Indians with the opportunity to take part in local elections.[59]

Firmly believing that the Indians should be given an education designed to facilitate their incorporation into Guatemalan affairs, Reina Barrios signed into law in 1893 decree number 474 providing for the establishment of the first national Indian Institute whose chief aim was to aid in the "civilization" of the Indians. The Institute was to operate on the government-owned finca Aceituno and was to be provided with a monthly budget of 4,000 dollars. The Institute's officials were to begin as soon as possible in selecting students from the various regions of Guatemala.[60]

On January 20, 1894, another institute was created, the Instituto Agrícola de Indígenas. Realizing that agriculture was Guatemala's economic foundation, Reina Barrios hoped that with this institute the Indian through training could enter this sector of Guatemalan economy and not only be of benefit to himself but to the entire economy. A director appointed by the President was to see to the functioning of the Institute which was to become operative under the supervision of the Ministry of Instruction. The fundamental aim of the Institute was to civilize the Indian students and acquaint them with modern agricul-

tural methods and techniques. As the entire curriculum, four years in length, was based upon the assumption that the students upon completion of their studies would return to their native villages, various aspects of horticulture, crop rotation and climatology were emphasized.

Although the Institute's program was quite regimented by modern standards and although it tended to be repressive of Indian customs and traditions, it represented a bold effort and at least a start toward ending the misery of a few Indian youths by providing them with the basics for overcoming their circumstances. Unfortunately neither the Instituto Nacional Central Indígenas or the Instituto Agrícola de Indígenas would develop as fully operative institutions. The failure to implement the decrees authorizing these institutes and the death of Reina Barrios in 1898 left the task of creating a viable system of Indian education to the twentieth century.[61]

Reina Barrios did not, however, end his Indian program here. A new work code was formulated in February of 1894 which was followed by another in May of 1894. With the two work codes the Indian laborer acquired some rights not previously held. The code was written with several goals in mind, namely the stimulation of agricultural production, the ending of vagrancy, the regularizing of relations between workers and hacendados, the alleviation of some of the dangers facing Guatemala's nascent agricultural industries, the elimination of some of the former abuses of the mandamiento laws, and the creation of a

work code where the conditions of supply and demand could come into effective play.[62]

The work laws, among other things, enumerated a series of responsibilities of the patron which had not appeared in such detail on any previous occasion. These included the maintenance of order on the finca, keeping an accurate list of employees including colonos, utilizing written work contracts including a stated salary for every colono, and providing a sufficient diet and sanitary living accommodations for every employee and his family. The patron was to have all of his workers vaccinated against smallpox, provide a free school for the education of the employee's children, present annual reports to the local authorities on the outstanding work periods each colono owed to the patron, maintain accurate financial reports, especially as they related to the colonos and in cases involving crime, report such to the local authorities for whatever juridic action that was appropriate. Under no circumstances was the colono to be forced to work against his will. This was designed to plug the several legal loopholes that had been used on former occasions to acquire native laborers.[63]

The colono was to make himself available for work for the salary and conditions stated in the contract and he was to obey the orders of the patron and his agents. He was to maintain a work report or libreto and was not to be obligated to more than one patron at any given time. The worker was not to obligate himself for more than four years at a

time and if required to travel a long distance to the worksite, was to be paid for the time spent in traveling.

In an effort to correct the practices of former years when colonos were tricked and forced into military service, all Indian laborers who worked for three months or more on coffee, sugar cane or banana plantations were to be exempt from such service. To determine who was eligible for military service and who was to be exempt, periodic reports were to be presented by the patron to the local military commander. As a means of enforcing the law, jueces de agricultura were to be named for each agricultural zone in the country. Their responsibilities were to include solving all contract disputes between workers and patrones, dealing with delinquents and law-breakers among the colonos, and granting travel papers to those colonos who were free of obligations and wished to seek a means of livelihood elsewhere.[64]

Although these codes sought to solve several problems and achieve several goals, by more recent standards they could hardly be said to have provided a situation where the colono could exercise any freedom of choice in selecting the type of work he desired. Through various means often quite subtle including the tienda de raya or company store, the colono could be maintained in a perpetual state of indebtedness to the patron and difficult it was to obtain permission to leave a finca when one was financially indebted to the patron. Although the living conditions of the colonos were to be improved, this being a responsi-

bility of the patron, deficiencies were apparently the rule rather than the exception.

Seldom was a respectable education provided the young people of a finca. Without a signed boleto de solvencia, the colono's freedom to search for another position was severely curtailed. The two codes, in naming certain exceptions to military service and in spelling out obligations of the patron toward their workers, seemed to be effective in limiting the horizons of exploitation visible in previous decades. As far as freeing the Indian from his predetermined role as a worker, they were not effective. This legislation which might have become part of the foundation for a truly effective indigenista program, however, not only came to an environment unprepared for such a persuasion, but was abruptly ended by the assassination of President Reina Barrios in 1898.

José María Reina Barrios was the first president of Guatemala since Mariano Gálvez to recognize openly not only the potential of the Indian majority but attempted to define and utilize this potential as it applied to the overall social and economic structure of the nation. Through a series of labor laws and educational reforms Reina Barrios sought to provide the Indian as laborer or student with some feeling of self-determination at least to the extent that he would by his own volition and official encouragement undertake to exercise his capabilities in a manner meaningful to him as well as to the national society to

which he belonged. With legislation that was both protectionistic and designed to improve the circumstances of the Indian, Reina Barrios hoped to make the identity of the Indian one that was consistent with what he felt constituted the social and economic identity of Guatemala. Although his death terminated efforts to implement fully much of this legislation which would have, in effect, westernized the Indian and made him into a newly culturated Ladino, a genuine if not idealistic and simplistic attempt at what could be concluded to have been a preliminary form of indigenismo had been discussed and initially promulgated into law. As the arts and the ethic of progress flourished during the short regime of Reina Barrios, so did thoughts of the Indian and how this untapped potential could be harnessed to create eventually a national republic wherein Ladino and Indian alike could function fully as citizens.

The man who succeeded Reina Barrios in the presidency shared neither his interest in the Indian nor his desire to implement some program designed to alter the Indian's circumstances. Manuel Estrada Cabrera, who remained in office for over two decades as a despot who had not been truly enlightened, ruled Guatemala with an iron hand that left little room for social or economically oriented programs designed to better the Indian. Although notable advances were made in transportation and some impetus was given to education, the Indian remained in a state of peonage.

Although a law passed in 1909 might have made the jueces de agricultura more representative of Indian interests by giving them extensive judicial and administrative powers to review and take action on all cases involving excessive or unfair exploitation, this did not occur. The records kept by the jueces de agricultura of the colonos working on each finca in their area, the degree of indebtedness of each Indian worker, the nature of their work contract, and other statistics were more often than not used for various political or personal reasons. The tendency to use government to satisfy the interests and demands of the few permeated even the highest levels of public service as Estrada Cabrera was re-elected on at least one occasion by a majority greater than the entire population of Guatemala. For promises of various sorts, Indian colonos were transported to election sites in numbers greater than in other elections to cast their votes for the caudillo who offered them aguardiente and a day away from their toils.[65]

Throughout Estrada Cabrera's regime, the Indians on occasions were mistreated to the extreme and seldom did they voice any sustained or overt opposition. In 1898, however, the Indian population of San Juan Ixcoy provided a marked exception to this general trend. For some time the Indians in this area had been subjected to nearly inhuman treatment by the local Ladino population who imposed lengthy work periods and excessive tributes. On July 17, 1898, the repressed

hatred the Indians felt toward the Ladinos surfaced and took the path of violence. Virtually all of the Ladino population of San Juan Ixcoy, including women and children, were exterminated and a substantial portion of the town, including the municipal buildings, were destroyed.[66] Order was restored quickly to San Juan Ixcoy by the Guatemalan army. The fact that nothing was done to correct the distress that was instrumental in triggering this violence until many years later remains instructive of the lack of concern for the Indian in Guatemala during the Cabrera regime.

After two decades of repression and dictatorial rule, political opponents of Estrada Cabrera in 1919 organized the Unionist Party which soon became dedicated to overthrowing his government. By April of 1920, their efforts came to fruition as the dictator was deposed following a ten-day revolution.

With the ousting of Estrada Cabrera from power, the political atmosphere seemed primed to accept some change that would erase the dictatorial personalismo that had been Guatemala for the past two decades. The impetus for progressive reform that had been expressed by the Unionist Party and various Liberal political elements was not to forget completely the Indian and his mountain of needs. In December of 1920 under the provisional presidency of Carlos Herrera, a decree was passed which was to attempt to alter the educational inadequacies of the Indian. Herrera, like Barrios, wanted to begin an educational

program for the Indians which, if successful, in due time would provide a basis for meaningful and substantial change.

An Indian Normal School was established in Guatemala City. The Institution was provided with a yearly budget of 60,000 pesos. One hundred Indian students were to be enrolled in the school, each with a government scholarship of four hundred pesos.[68] Although this was only a minor step, given the breadth of Guatemala's Indian population of approximately one million at this time, it revealed at least a concern for the depressed majority of the republic's population. The fact that the school made excellent progress spoke well for the experiment which was designed to create a corps of Indian elementary school teachers who would return to their rural villages throughout Guatemala and impart their acquired knowledge to others. Reflective of the educational institutions being advocated by José Vasconcelos in Mexico in this time, the establishment of this Normal School, however, was to be only a beginning and a sample of a progressive urge that would be manifested in many areas.

When José María Orellana, an astute and talented administrator, was elected president in December of 1921, reform and innovation became the by-words of his administration. One of his first tasks was to attempt to put the Guatemalan financial house in order. A commission was appointed to study the Guatemalan financial situation and make recommendations. Basing many of his policies upon the findings and

suggestions of this commission, Orellana stabilized the national currency, instituted the concept of a balanced budget which would allow a surplus that could be used in the liquidation of national debts, encouraged the expansion of agricultural production and directed the passage of a series of laws designed to protect property, capital and labor. In 1923 a Central Bank was established and measures were undertaken to provide for an efficient and sound system of currency circulation.[69] The President, however, did not limit his efforts to the financial sphere.

In the areas of health and education Orellana was active. Several primary schools were established throughout the republic and existing ones were repaired. A School of Medicine was organized and an Academy of Teachers was begun. Teachers' salaries were increased and scholarships for further study were made available. A system of inspection of educational facilities was instituted and a progressive approach to curricula and the body of laws regarding primary education was undertaken. To meet the more practical educational needs of Guatemala, schools for the teaching of arts and crafts, agriculture, and commerce were organized and subsidized by the government. Libraries were established in several regions of the republic including the National Library which opened in 1925. Also organized were a National Archeological Museum and a National Museum of Ethnology and History on the format of similar Mexican institutions which in con-

junction with the libraries were to provide learning facilities for all Guatemalans. In the field of health the President was instrumental in establishing a school of nursing, passing laws designed to regulate the pharmacy profession and the sale and distribution of drugs, and in cooperating with the Rockefeller Foundation in its campaigns against diseases. A variety of other measures promised eventually to aid the Indian, but provided few immediate benefits.

Orellana's sudden death of a heart attack in 1925 did not end his impetus to reform.[70] Lázaro Chacón, who succeeded Orellana, was generally successful in following his predecessor's energetic programs. Concerned about the lack of juridic recourse for the common people, Chacón in 1926 created a governmental agency whose assignment was to provide legal defense and assistance for those who would otherwise be unable to obtain such assistance. The agency was also to oversee the rights of the state in pending legal matters. A National Mortgage Bank was begun in 1929 to make available long-term loans on mortgages and in 1930 the National Bank of Guatemala was opened.

The President followed the efforts of Orellana by promoting further penal reforms, encouraging the foundation of an institute to combat illiteracy and sponsoring the organization of a National Council of Education, which would consider educational reform of various types and the organization of the nation's schools. Inducements for teachers including scholarships and the improvement of educational standards

were implemented as was the first rural school in 1929 which was to teach courses in farming and the mechanical arts to Indian students. Industrial schools were also established as were textile schools. The People's University offering evening courses to workers was expanded and emphasis was given literacy programs. Libraries were authorized to expand their collections at government expense. Health stations throughout Guatemala were opened by the Chacón administration in an effort to bring medical treatment to rural Guatemala.

The scope of activities of the Department of Agriculture was expanded considerably as programs for the free distribution of seeds, the organization of agricultural expositions and the initiation of a body of instructors of agriculture to provide the rural farmer with instruction in various types of agriculture were begun. An Agricultural Experimental School was founded in Jalapa in 1927 for the purpose of studying means of using public lands, giving assistance to farmers and attempting to raise the standard of living of rural Guatemala. An Agricultural Credit Institute was authorized in 1929 to provide loans to farmers. Chacón's energies on behalf of reform, improvement and modernization were only cut short by changing political fortunes and a revolution which brought Jorge Ubico to power.[71]

Although the decade of progressive experience under the regimes of José María Orellana and Lázaro Chacón had accomplished a great deal, little of this would immediately and directly affect the Indian

population in Guatemala. The Ubico era, largely because of a lack of attention to social matters and a different orientation, would eventually nullify many of these accomplishments. Important, however, is the fact that many of these advances made in the 1920's helped to create the environment and the institutions or tools that would later prove to be necessary and considerably useful in the implementation of an integrative and viable indigenismo. The fact that much of the legislation passed during this period was not directly aimed at the Indian resulted in little effect upon the Indian. Simply to legislate and establish programs was not enough.

The one hundred and thirty year period from 1800 to 1930 in Guatemala was one in which the very fabric of Guatemala was altered and modified in countless ways. A colony of Spain in 1800 was in 1930 a nation engulfed in the complexities of the twentieth century. Much of this, however, affected the Indians of Guatemala in only a limited manner. This was particularly true in the area of legislation designed to either improve the lot of the Indian or protect him from abuse. Although some notable legislative efforts had taken place under the regime of Mariano Gálvez, Guatemala was not prepared either socially or economically for any program of far reaching reform.

The financial difficulties of Guatemala as a state in the Federation of Central America in itself indicated the difficulty even one as talented as Gálvez would face in bringing about any program of social change.

The forces and the difficulties created by regionalism, political unpreparedness, the religious question, an economic monoculture, instability, and a general disdain for things Indian on many fronts utterly absorbed whatever energies, which, had circumstances been different, might have been channeled toward the Indian. Following the dictatorial era of Rafael Carrera, the Liberal reaction headed by Justo Rufino Barrios largely considered the Indian to be simply a tool for economic advance and modernization. The Liberal accomplishments of the period benefited the Creole and the Ladino rather than the Indian. Under José María Reina Barrios some promising starts were made in the area of indigenista legislation and a serious attempt was made via this legislation to consider the identity of the Indian as being a basic part of the identity of Guatemala as a whole. However, the premature death of the President and the long and repressive regime of Manuel Estrada Cabrera which followed nullified the advances made previously.

Although the 1920's brought to Guatemala an impressive array of reforms and truly progressive legislation which in time would have benefited the indigenous groups in Guatemala, the Ubico years which followed failed to direct these accomplishments toward the majority of Guatemala's population. When compared to the depth of discomfort experienced by Guatemala's Indians whose situation had changed little from what it had been in the colonial period, it becomes abundantly clear that the few achievements in indigenista legislation between 1800

and 1930 at best only indicated that a difficult situation existed. Yet even this point of view was supported or expressed only by a minute portion of Guatemala's population who could be said to have been politically and socially aware and knowledgeable and in a position to make their views known.

Much of the legislation of this long period was not reflective of the conditions and circumstances at hand. Although Gálvez and Rufino Barrios appeared to envision the Indian as having a definite and important role in society, the exact nature of this role in the form of an overall view was not evident for a period of time that could ensure its full development as a philosophy of government. The legislation appeared to have as its premise the view that the Indian was a part of Guatemala. Various decrees were passed to assure this identity or express it. Permanently to implant this identity was another matter. A more cohesive national policy which recognized the Indian problem and sought to identify the Indian as the most fundamental element in the national reality of Guatemala awaited another era.

## NOTES

## CHAPTER II

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[51]Skinner-Klee, Legislación indigenista de Guatemala, p. 43.

[52]Sanford A. Mosk, "Economia Cafetalera de Guatemala durante el período 1850-1918," Economia de Guatemala (Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1958), p. 167.

[53]Guatemala, Decreto Gubernativo No. 177, "Reglamento de Jornaleros," abril 3, 1877.

[54]Ibid.

[55]Burgess, Justo Rufino Barrios: A Biography, p. 163.

[56]Guatemala, Acuerdo gubernativo de diciembre 3, 1889.

[57]Skinner-Klee, Legislación indigenista de Guatemala, pp. 47-48.

[58]Guatemala, Decreto Gubernativo, no. 471 (octuber 23, 1893).

[59]Ibid.

[60]Guatemala, Decreto Gubernativo, No. 474 (octubre 30, 1893).

[61]Guatemala, Acuerdo Gobernativo (enero 20, 1894), "Reglamento del Instituto Agrícola de Indígenas."

[62]Guatemala, Decreto Gubernativo, no. 486 (febrero 14, 1894).

[63]Ibid.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Interview, January 22, 1970, Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet, Instituto Indigenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[66]Adrian Recinos, Monografía del departamento de Huehuetenango (Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1954), p. 364.

[67]Jones, Guatemala: Past and Present, pp. 67-68.

[68]Guatemala, Decreto Gubernativo No. 773 (diciembre 24, 1920).

[69]Jensen, Guatemala: A Historical Survey, p. 106.

[70]Ibid., pp. 105-10.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid., pp. 111-20.

## INDIGENISTA AND INDIAN-ORIENTED GUATEMALAN LITERARY WORKS

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|---|---|
| Miguel Angel Asturias | El señor presidente; Leyendas de Guatemala; Hombres de maiz; Mulata de tal; Viento fuerte; El papa verde; Los ojos de los enterados. |
| Francisco Barnoya Galvez | Han de estar y estaran. |
| Flavio Herrera | Caos; El solar de las gonzagas; La gringa. |
| Agustín Mencos Franco | Don Juan Núñez Garcia |
| Jose Milla Vidaurre | El visitador; La hija del adelantado; Los Nazareños. |
| Mario Monteforte Toledo | Anaite; Donde acaban los caminos; Entre la piedra y la cruz; La cueva sin quietud. |
| Carlos Samayoa Chinchilla | Cuatro suertes; Madre milpa. |
| Rosendo Santa Cruz | Cuadro cae la noche; Tierras de lumbre. |
| Rafael Zea Ruano | Cactos; Tierra nuestra. |

# CHAPTER III

# INDIGENISMO AND THE INDIAN IN GUATEMALAN LITERATURE

Although the indigenista orientation in Guatemalan literature is largely a phenomenon of the twentieth century, its beginnings may be traced back to the years of the conquest and the colonial period. Indeed, the arguments that were presented by Bartolomé de Las Casas, Antonio de Montesinos, and several others on behalf of Indian rights gained some international recognition not to mention the attention they received in Spain. An active interest in the Indians in general and in their customs, their traditions, their languages, and their culture was soon to be noted in the period following the initial conquest.

A person who devoted a considerable portion of his energies to the studies of the Indian groups in Guatemala was Father Francisco Ximénez. Andalusian by birth, Ximénez came to Guatemala in 1688. An astute cleric, he was well versed in the Indian languages soon after his arrival and was devoted to the conversion of the natives.[1] Through his friendly dealings with them while parish priest at Santo Tomás Chichicastenango, he soon found himself at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the position of being able to hear stories of the ancient Indian traditions and customs. Finally a volume which contained the

ancient tales of the Quichés was made available for the Dominican's perusal.[2]

The work had been written shortly after the conquest of the Quichés by an Indian whose identity remains an uncertainty. Known as the Popul Vuh or National Book of the Quichés, it constituted a valuable find containing as it did the ancient traditions of the Quichés, their cosmological thoughts and the history of their origins.[3] Father Ximénez was quick to recognize the value of the book and transcribed the original Quiché text and then translated it into Spanish under the title Historia del origen de los indios de ésta provincia de Guatemala. Although the fate of the original document is unknown, Ximénez's translated copy of it is still preserved.[4]

The Popol Vuh must be considered as one of the most sophisticated native documents in the Americas. Although not an indigenista document itself, it became, nevertheless, a focal point around which some of the indigenista literature would be written. Its stories of the creation of the universe, the adventures of the semi-gods Junajap and Ixbalamqué, the endless encounters and obstacles overcome by the Quiché forefathers, the eventual unification of the clans and tribes, the political consolidation of the Quiché empire and descriptions of the Quiché's traditions, customs, and religious rites prior to the conquest must have excited the imagination and intellectual curiosity of Father Ximénez as well as others to follow. The stories of the ancient Quichés

which were set in an environment of strange combinations of the real and the mythological world attracted scholars from many disciplines who were seeking to understand some aspect or portion of the Quiché's pre-conquest experience.[5]

The Popol Vuh was a point of embarkation for much of the literary productions of Miguel Angel Asturias, the twentieth-century Guatemalan writer who strove to understand and explain the psychic orientation of the Guatemalan Indian. Composed by an Indian who had learned to write in his own language by using Latin characters and one who knew well the ancient traditions of his people, the Popol Vuh demonstrated that the Quichés possessed a complex and sophisticated culture. This aboriginal document, however, was not the only one which would function as a focal point and as a catalyst for the development of an indigenista literature in Guatemala.

Another native document around which considerable interest would develop in the nineteenth century and later was one entitled The Annals of the Cakchiquels or Memoria de Sololá. Where the Popol Vuh had been concerned with the traditions and history of the Quichés, the Annals related the past of the Cakchiquels, a branch of the Maya people, who separated from the Quichés about the middle of the fifteenth century. The book itself, depicting the struggles, triumphs, and sufferings of this group and their slavery and misery under the Spanish, was written at the end of the sixteenth century by several Indian authors who

had learned the art of modern writing from the Spanish. The document was kept in the highland village of Sololá overlooking Lake Atitlán and did not become known until it was deposited at the Franciscan monastery in Guatemala.[6] It was first used as an academic source by Father Francisco Vásquez, chronicler of the Order of Saint Francis, in his account of various episodes in the history of Guatemala.

The Memoria de Sololá contains information on the legendary beginnings of the Cakchiquels, the process of their separation from the Quichés, and the coming of the Spaniards. It ranks equally in importance to the Popol Vuh and conforms in several instances to the details there presented. The Memoria de Sololá, the Popol Vuh, and other Indian documents, including one dealing with the history of the Indians in the Totonicapán area, did not receive overt and detailed attention of scholars until the nineteenth century. Besides Francisco Vásquez and Francisco Ximénez, there were others in the colonial period including Diego García de Palacio, Father Avendano y Loyola and Antonio de Remesal who knew of aboriginal documents. The impetus toward a detailed investigation of these sources, however, awaited the republican era.

In 1746 the Mayan ruins at Palenque in Chiapas were discovered accidentally. The importance of this find abroad, however, was not felt until 1822 when Antonio del Río's book about the discovery at Palenque was translated into English.[7] This seemed to trigger an interest in things Mayan and it was not long before activity would be noted. In

1840 Frederick Catherwood, a British artist, visited the Mayan ruins at Quiriguá and executed a series of sketches. The following year his American traveling companion John Lloyd Stephens wrote a book on their travels through Central America.[8] By 1848 when Tikal was discovered, the mysteries of the ancient Maya was a topic of conversation and debate in many literary and philosophical circles in both Europe and in the United States.[9]

The first after 1840 to dedicate his energies to a systematic and scholarly study of the pre-conquest Indians of Guatemala was Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg. Born in the small city of Bourbourg in France, he was destined to become one of the most active scholars of the Indians of Guatemala. After completing his studies in Rome where he was ordained as a priest, Brasseur de Bourbourg was influenced by Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, at least to the extent that he decided to embark upon a concentrated study of the Americas.[10] By 1851 his first literary effort had been published and his interest in the Americas was firmly established. In 1854 he visited Guatemala for the first time, having been attracted by descriptions of Mayan antiquities he encountered in the United States. His considerable scholarly production attracted several investigators to Guatemala in later years.[11]

Brasseur de Bourbourg's studies of Mayan topics did not end with his translation of Ximénez's manuscript in 1861. While in Guatemala he was shown a document written in the Cakchiquel language which had

been uncovered by Juan Gavarrete in 1844 as he was rearranging the archives of the monastery of San Francisco in Guatemala City. After mastering the Quiché and Cakchiquel languages, Brasseur de Bourbourg translated this into French in 1855 and gave it the title Memoria de Tecpán Atitlán. He later translated and had published in 1862 Ximénez's study of the Quiché language. Other products of Brasseur de Bourbourg's active academic interests were Recherches sur les Ruines de Palenque, published in 1866, a translation of Diego de Landa's relaciones, his Quatre Lettres sur le Mexique which appeared in 1868, a study of the pictograph system used by the Mayas and a work in 1871 entitled Bibliotheque Mexico-Guatemalienne, which not only enumerated many of the documents then available dealing with the natives of the New World, but included the author's comments on some twenty-one years of study and travel.[12] His discovery of Diego de Landa's relaciones, which contained descriptions of the Mayan calendar, enabled others to begin deciphering the Mayan hieroglyphics. Also his work with the Quiché language was of such sound quality that it would be utilized in the twentieth century as both a text and a reference source.

During the last three decades of the nineteenth century several other scholars wrote important studies of various Guatemalan Indian topics. Writing in 1878, Adolph Bandelier added further knowledge to what earlier had been available about native documents with the publication of his study entitled On the Sources of the Aboriginal History of Spanish

America. His Notes on the Bibliography of Yucatan and Central America and his study called On the Distribution and Tenure of Lands and the Customs With Respect to Inheritance Among the Ancient Indians, published in 1880 and 1881 respectively, brought the attentions of others to the aboriginal past of Guatemala. By 1887 Ernest Forstemann, associated with the Royal Library of Dresden in Germany, explained for the first time the Mayan number system and made an exhaustive study of several Mayan manuscripts.[13] At the same time Alfred Maudslay, an Englishman who had visited many of the Mayan monuments in Guatemala, conducted the first scientific investigations of these.[14]

Beginning in 1881 Daniel G. Brinton entered the picture and through his studies brought to the English speaking world a considerable body of information on the Mayans. In 1885 Brinton published The Annals of the Cakchiquels, which contained extracts from the original manuscripts.[15] For the first time this document became known to English readers and was no doubt influential to a degree in bringing about the institutional studies of the Mayan area especially by Harvard University's Peabody Museum. The result was several important scholarly contributions including the discovery of new archeological sites.[16] The studies by Carl Sapper, an accomplished scholar, appeared before the close of the century, as did several works by Otto Stoll on the ethnography and ethnology of Guatemala's Indians.[17] All served to provide the basis for further studies that would be undertaken in the twen-

tieth century.

These investigators, many of whom were to know Guatemala firsthand, did not contribute directly to the body of indigenista literature and opinion in Guatemala. They did, however, bring to light the nature and the dynamics of the Indian past which would later be selected by several indigenista writers as topics for their works. In a word, they completed some of the preliminary spade work that was necessary for the development of an indigenista persuasion in Guatemala.

Where the nineteenth century was a noticeable renaissance of interest and dedication to things Mayan and Indian, no such persuasion or direction of interest on as large a scale was to be seen in Guatemalan letters. Certainly a major reason for this was the fact that the novel, which would become the chief medium for the artistic expression of indigenismo was not born until late in the nineteenth century in Guatemala. Although various literary tracts prior to this time had contained episodes similar to those of the novel, this literary form in its true sense did not develop until after the fall of Estrada Calrera.[18] Guatemala also did not possess the rich literary tradition that was instrumental in many European countries in leading to an earlier development of the novel.

The orientation in literature through much of the first half of the nineteenth century was romanticism which in many areas of Latin America was dedicated to the themes of progress, patriotism, and

the ideal of liberty. Given particular emphasis were themes of a historical nature, a search for one's origins and a concern for man's existence and his development as an individual free from the corrosive influences of Europe. The Indian in the literature of this period, however, in countries like Peru, Bolivia, and Guatemala was recognized as an indispensable element in a narrative that was devoted to the historical, the artistic, and the mythological. The Indian was idealized by the romantics to the point of being a mythological rather than a real being.

The failure of the development of a rich literature of romanticism in Guatemala was due to the fact that much of the material that had been written and was being written was done by clerics whose orientation was didactic rather than practical. Also, in Guatemala the majority of the population during the first half of the nineteenth century was illiterate and therefore unable to contribute to the development of a rich literary tradition. The separation from Spain had been accomplished with little or no fanfare, thus eliminating one of romanticism's major themes. Further, the repression of freedom of expression by many of the early republican governments was effective in limiting the urge for literary achievement. The idea of the Indian as a romantic theme came from France, rather than Guatemala.[19]

In much of the literature produced in France during the seventeenth century, the Indian and his life style were given a utopian interpreta-

tion. The natives were visualized by Montaigne and others as having lived in a perfect state before the arrival of the Spaniards. That the Spaniards destroyed this environment of innocence by subjecting the Indians to "civilization" was accepted as a fact.[20] Montaigne introduced exoticism to French letters with his detailed descriptions of Indian customs, food, and religions and Voltaire followed in 1736 with a philanthropic theme advocating assistance to the Indians in his Alzire which would not be encountered until years later in indigenista literature. By extolling the superior virtues of the Indian and degrading the Spaniards, Voltaire used the Indian as a thematic medium for anti-clerical satire as well as satire of civilization in general. Jean Jacques Rousseau's writings, which established the intimate relationship between man and nature as well as theories of social contract, were to be important contributions to the later development of an indigenista literature throughout Latin America. Chateaubriand's artistic expression of the theme of the noble savage, Marmontel's criticism of Spanish cruelties and abuses of the Indian in his work Les Incas, and Saint Pierre's exaltation of the state of naturalness along with the literary productions of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montaigne all provided the initial framework for the development of indigenismo in Guatemala and in Latin America. The romantic's nostalgic view of the Indian would be a vehicle in later years that would lead to a more practical and realistic consideration of the Indian and his state of being.[21]

The first Guatemalan author of major consequence in the nineteenth century to pick up the romantic's concept and visualization of the Indian was José Milla Vidaurre, considered by many to be father of the Guatemalan novel. A Guatemalan by birth, Milla was inclined toward the literary at an early age and was markedly influenced by writers such as Dumas, Scott, Hugo, Dickens and others of the romantic period. His literary productions were composed in this vein. The atmosphere selected for many of his novels including La hija del adelantado, Los Nazareños, and El visitador was the colonial period in Guatemala, the era of the peninsulares. In this historical backdrop the author developed his subjects and themes.[22]

La hija del adelantado, written in 1866, dealt with a series of episodes in the life of Pedro de Alvarado and the love expressed by Alvarado's daughter Leonor Alvarado y Jicotencal for Francisco Portocarrero. After describing a series of Indian rebellions which took place, the author presented a view of the Guatemalan Indian. The influence of romanticism was evident throughout. Although a contrast was presented between two caciques, Sinacan and Sequechul, the romantics' tendency toward idealization was noteworthy. Sinacan, an elderly chieftain of the Cakchiquels, represented tradition and established custom as he methodically contemplated the possible fate of his people when they engaged the Spaniards. Sequechul, a cacique of the Quiché, reflected somewhat melancholically on his situation but exhibited a

youthful exuberance characteristic of his years. The two, however, were idealized stereotypes in the romantic tradition. Both were essentially without personality or individual character. Sinacan remembered the desperate attempt to defeat the Spanish and cried as he realized that all had been lost. Throughout the novel Milla relied upon many Indian words to lend authenticity to the subject matter as did Chateaubriand and others. Also presented in the novel were views of the superstitious beliefs of the Indians. The general romanticized view of the Indian was that held by the dominant class, the Creole.

In El visitador, his best novel, Milla took his readers to Antigua where the political intrigue and the melodramatic atmosphere of colonial Guatemala was presented. In this work a colorful and picturesque Indian fiesta was depicted, the fiesta itself recalling the defeat of the Indians by the Spanish. Recaptured in detail, the fiesta became symbolic of the Indian's state of being in the colonial world. Milla became the first author in Guatemala to pay particular attention to Indian customs, traditions, and superstitions and to attempt to explain them within an artistic framework. In a sense he nationalized these entities and in so doing initially developed a characteristic that would appear often in later indigenista novels, the emphasis upon the actuality of the Indian and his circumstances and the view that the Indian was to be identified as part of the Guatemalan reality.

With the liberal revolution of 1871, some of the former restrictions on freedom of expression were lifted thus allowing authors to widen their scope and selection of subjects. The curious blend of romanticism with naturalism and realism that was to be found in José Milla's novels appeared more pronounced in some of the works of Augustín Mencos Franco, particularly in his novel Don Juan Núnez García, which appeared in 1898.[23] In taking as his subject the rebellion of the Tzandal Indians in Chiapas in 1712, a topic which evoked the characteristic sentimentalism and idealism common to the romantics, Mencos Franco presented the Indian characters as real, although their activities were fictitious. He began the novel with a story of the seduction of a young Indian girl related to the Quiché kings by a Spanish official. By this means he initiated a commentary on the abuses and injustices committed by the Spaniards against the Indians that would appear throughout the novel. Among these he included the encomienda, the tribute, forced work and the enslavement of the Indians.[24] Mencos Franco, in addressing himself and his characters to the social injustice of the Indian throughout the novel, became the first novelist in Guatemala to discuss this theme in such a pronounced and decisive manner. He also discussed Indian customs and the syncretism of native paganism and Catholicism, two themes which repeatedly appear in later indigenista novels.

Although Mencos Franco's Don Juan Núnez García and a few others

were concerned with the Indian, the indigenista persuasion in Guatemalan letters largely was to be a feature of the twentieth century. Where the cultural and political environment of the nineteenth century Guatemala was one of personalismo coupled with class or social divisions which reinforced at every turn the exclusion of the Indian, the twentieth century would bring to the republic new ideas and ideologies that would tend to alter the past political, economic, social, and cultural patterns of life. Guatemala, through increased contact in world affairs, would be brought more fully into the general stream of Western life and thought.

Rapid population growth and economic development brought about significant social and political changes such as the 1944 Revolution which held the promise of a new experience. Coming with these changes was an intellectual and artistic renaissance including the new approaches to man's environment such as Marxism, socialism, humanism, universalism, and relativism. A turning away from Europe in the arts and letters and facing toward the Americas was evident and from this a new orientation and direction. The Indian was considered anew and in a different light. Indeed, the Indian and his circumstances became not only the basic theme in a significant body of literature throughout the continent as well as in Guatemala, but became also the focal point for numerous international organizations and congresses dedicated to the study of and improvement of the Indian. From this

atmosphere modern indigenismo was born in many of the republics of the Americas.

What was to constitute the indigenista theme in literature in the twentieth century and how would it differ from what had preceded it? Much of the literature dealing with some aspect of Guatemala's Indians prior to 1900 was either descriptive in nature or, as in the case of Las Casas and a few others, a tract of protest against the exploitation of the natives by the dominant class. Certainly with the romantics, the Indian was idealized often to the point that he appeared to be something other than an authentic being. By the twentieth century, however, the indigenista theme included not only the element of social protest, but was frequently influenced by economic and cultural issues as well. Indeed, this new orientation in the novel made it less a novel of protest than of cultural analysis.

Emphasizing the importance of the incorporation of the Indian population, the new point of view attempted to understand the significance of the Indian in the national culture. The emphasis upon the glories of the Indian past was forgotten as realism's literary prescriptions directed the emphasis to the immediacies of the modern Indian's plight to convey a forceful message of social protest. Social protest was, more often than not, aimed at undoing immediate evils. The focus of the new indigenista tract became that of current economic realities punctuated generally by pessimism about the Indian's present

and future and by frequent editorial comments by the author. Indians were considered the underdogs and the Creoles the exploiters. Although the indigenista novel particularly after 1930 was little concerned with literary style or character development, it brought the attention of the reading public to the fact that there existed a serious and unsolved human problem.

One of the first writers in twentieth century Guatemala to attempt through his novels a detailed and comprehensive understanding of Guatemalan society and the life of the Guatemalan Indian was Carlos Wyld Ospina. This orientation was to be observed in his first two novels, El solar de los gonzagas and La gringa. In La gringa the Indian appeared as a character having depth and life-like characteristics. As the story of the two lovers Eduardo Barcos and Magada Pena Meich unfolded, Wyld Ospina successfully created the environment experienced by the Indian, including descriptions of his physical surroundings, his use of domesticated animals, his crops, his moral orientation, his musical instruments including the marimba and the guitar, his dances, his language, and numerous other characteristics. With El solar de las gonzagas, which treated numerous native customs and realistically described Indian villages, but more particularly with La gringa, the Indian in Guatemala appeared as a real human being with human desires and motivations and one affected by his environment.[25]

La tierra de los nahuyacas, or the land of the serpents, written in

1933, was one of the first literary works in Guatemala to deal in detail with the subject of the Indian and have an Indian character as its protagonist.[26] Through a series of short stories the very soul of the Indian was presented to the reader.[27] Sebastián Ax, the protagonist, represented the epitome of the Kecchi Indian, a curious combination of myth and legend counterbalanced by the forces of reality, rejection, and exclusions often imposed upon him by a basically hostile Ladino society. Sebastián Ax at least in one point of the work was the cry of protest of the Indian against his exploitation and subjugation since the conquest.[28]

In effect, Sebastián Ax was the personification of the Kecchi Indian. Through him the reader was able to visualize the Indian of Guatemala, a person with little sustenance, living in the solitude of the altiplano, constantly being threatened by an often unfriendly environment and operating as an individual with little or no tendency to things social, but deeply religious and quite meek and timid. Throughout the stories, the Indian's villages, his homes and his customs were discussed in detail. Wyld Ospina also portrayed in La tierra de las nahuyacas and other works the negative influence of the coastal plain where the amazingly self-sufficient and capable native of the altiplano suffered in the tropical environment. The Indian on the coastal plain was depicted as ridden with malaria, yellow fever, and dysentery, and devoted to the consumption of alcohol and moral decay.[29]

Throughout the stories in La tierra de las nahuyacas the reader's attention was frequently channeled to the most important element in the Kecchi's daily life, his religion. His love as well as his dread of a considerable number of deities who frequently controlled various aspects of his daily life were enumerated in detail. His religious syncretism, which involved a devotion to both Christian saints and native supernaturals, was treated in considerable detail. The use of Indian laborers by the Dominican friars in the construction of churches was presented in the framework of a protest. With El solar de las gonzagas, La gringa, and later La tierra de las nahuyacas, Carlos Wyld Ospina portrayed the Indian as a human being for the first time in Guatemalan literature and discussed and analyzed his world of superstition and myth as well as the more tangible elements in his life style.[30]

Yet a more pronounced form of indigenismo emerged at this time with another author. Writing during the 1930's in the early years of the administration of Jorge Ubico, Flavio Herrera soon became known as an accomplished novelist and story teller as well as a poet of appreciable talent. His chief aim in many of his works was to capture the essence of Guatemalan life in its various aspects and characteristics, both Indian and otherwise. In attempting to present the authenticity that was Guatemala, Herrera became an indigenista. His portrayal of the Indian was not limited only to an interest in his external culture but included a concern for his social struggle against a Creole culture

and society which excluded him from membership and exploited him in innumerable ways. In some of his works Herrera argued that the Indian race should be preserved and not be allowed to lose its cultural identity. In others he concentrated upon the misery of the Indian and advocated a correction of this set of circumstances. His knowledge of the Indians was first-hand as he became acquainted with the native workers on his fincas in Escuintla.

With the works of Flavio Herrera, a sophisticated and artistic style of expression was given to the indigenista orientation. The emotions and the passions of the modern novel were clearly evident as he set his characters in environments often best described as violent, sensual, passionate, and cruel. The plight of the Indian was not simply described, but felt. Of the opinion that one's environment was most important in determining one's character, Herrera made his protagonists operate in surroundings that frequently served to explain their inner thoughts and operate as a catalyst in the development of the plot. The external circumstances of the Indian, often metaphorically and poetically presented, became as important as the Indian himself and in effect brought into focus a new indigenista element.

With El tigre, which appeared in 1934, Flavio Herrera presented the essence of the Indian in the tropical lowlands of Guatemala.[31] The moral and physical decay of the Indian in the often morbid, violent, and repressive atmosphere of the tropics emphasized uniquely the unquali-

fied tragedy of his experience. The Indian both as a person and as a race in El tigre was ultimately motivated and controlled by his unfriendly surroundings with its repressive heat and humidity and its violence, suppressing and stagnating any efforts or desires for achievement and development. As Luís, the protagonist in El tigre, melancholically contemplated his circumstances, the theme of human and social revindication for the Indian became evident as did the utter tragedy of his entire history.

A solution to the problem of the Indian, his social integration and his liberation, was not to be found in El tigre. The novel, more than anything else, portrayed the Indian in the tropics. Nevertheless, Herrera affirmed that the Indian constituted the basis of the social and cultural strife of Spanish America and the failure of the Mestizo and Indian sectors to relate with one another was at the base of this disaster.[32]

In his novel La tempestad, written in 1935, the Indian appeared throughout the work which took place in the coffee-producing coastal plains.[33] In La tempestad the Indian's negative characteristics were treated extensively. Herrera criticized the Indian's failure to respond to government programs which gave the natives small parcels of land, seeds and implements. He explained that the Indian would not work unless compelled to do so and through this failing subjected himself to dependence upon the possibilities of employment as a finca worker. The conclusion throughout was that the Indian, although occasionally

noble of character, was basically lazy and unwilling to work unless forced to do so. Also criticized to a considerable extent in the novel was the finca owner's approach to the Indian. His lack of concern and the abandonment of his Indian workers and the circumstances surrounding them to the extent that security from accidents was non-existent was discussed at length. The means utilized to trigger a review of the tragedy of the Indians was the serpent's bite of an Indian worker and the resulting hopelessness that surrounded the affair.

With the appearance of Caos in 1949, Herrera went a step beyond the descriptions of the Guatemalan Indian and the social, moral, and economic pressures which confronted him. In Caos the physical surroundings of the characters had a direct impact upon their intellectual conceptions of themselves and the things about them as well as their moral and ethical viewpoints. In the Indian this resulted in a spiritual crisis. Caos contained a synthesis of Flavio Herrera's feelings about the Indian situation. The Indian was seen as moving in an atmosphere of shadows where his life and its sufferings passed unnoticed by the non-Indian sector of Guatemalan society as if a wall existed between the two cultures and societies. This wall Herrera visualized as an opaque membrane which, regardless of what transpired, remained impermeable. The fact that the Indian was the basic economic element of Guatemala's existence remained unconsidered by the Ladino and Creole minority as he continued to be exploited by virtually every ele-

ment of society including the cacique, the hacendado, the doctor, the lawyer, the writer, the artist, and the tourist. Although the Indian might cry out against his misery, he was kept in these circumstances by the impenetrable wall.

Wyld Ospina helped initiate the indigenista movement in Guatemalan letters in the twentieth century and Flavio Herrera affirmed it. By placing his characters in an environment of vivid and often dramatic action, Herrera emphasized the conflicting situations and circumstances in the lives of Guatemalans. His treatment of the social problems and ills facing Guatemala's Creoles and Indians and his discussion of topics such as political expression and the economic difficulties facing the small finquero pointed out in an artistic yet in a very real manner, the lot that was the Indian's.[34] By condemning the abuses of the Indian and describing his real or actual circumstances, Flavio Herrera's novels served to stimulate others such as Mario Monteforte Toledo and Miguel Angel Asturias to direct their attentions to the Indian. Although the Indian in Herrera's novels was somewhat stereotyped, he nevertheless operated in the realm of the shadow which was, indeed, the substance of his existence, distant from the main developments and experiences of the non-Indian sector of Guatemala.

Prior to the 1944 Revolution, after which indigenismo in Guatemala became considerably more than a literary persuasion, the most consistent exponent of the Indian and indigenismo was Carlos Samayoa Chin-

chilla. A journalist by profession and at various times during the 1920's an editor or reporter for El Imparcial and the Diario de Centro America, Samayoa Chinchilla during the 1930's dedicated his literary interests and talents to studying, reviewing and commenting upon various facets of the Indian population of Guatemala. His desire to link the Indian with the modern experience of Guatemala was to be at least indirectly present in the majority of his literary productions as was his aim to present and promote the rich legendary and mythological facets of the Indian's culture, both past and present, and, among other things, to emphasize the importance of these in the life of the Guatemalan Indian.

The first substantial literary efforts of his indigenista point of view came in 1934 with the publication of Madre milpa, a diverse collection of Indian stories and legends in which a wide range of Indian life-styles and characteristics were presented.[35] One of the better-known of these was "María Candelaria."

"María Candelaria" was the story of a humble Indian woman who left her child unattended while she washed her laundry in a nearby river. In her absence the child climbed a tree and fell, sustaining a serious blow. The curandero who was called in to render his services related to María that he would need a small sum of money to prepare another recipe that would cure her dying son, his initial treatment having been without results. In an effort to secure the money to purchase

the needed materials for the curandero María left her son to sell her pet birds. When she returned home after being unable to conclude even one sale, she found her son dead.[36] The author's description of the mother who expressed her anguish and disdain for the Ladinos who would not buy her birds and for the perpetual misery of the Indian, destined to be born and to die in the shadows of social exclusion, prejudice and rejection was as convincing as it was dramatic.

In the story "El zchicolaj" the fundamental importance of ceremony and tradition to the life of the Indian was made evident. Miguel Sanjay, a young and poor Indian boy tried to propose marriage to María Josefa, whose father was wealthy by Indian standards and one of the principales in their village of Chichicastenango. The social inequality between their respective backgrounds, however, prohibited any marital arrangement. When Miguel gained a position of considerable prestige in the coming village fiesta, he decided to ask for María's hand in marriage. Miguel's quest, however, was denied. Disappointed, Miguel went to the coast for two years and upon his return learned that María had died after marriage to one of her own class. With "El zchicolaj " Samayoa Chinchilla not only presented a detailed description of a principal native fiesta but exposed the degree to which tradition and custom often regulated the daily life of the Guatemalan Indian.[37]

Madre milpa's stories presented numerous aspects of the lives of Guatemala's Indians. "El enemigo" revealed the importance of the

fiesta of the patron saint not only for a given Indian village as a whole but particularly for the person who would become cofrade or the chief sponsor. The effects of this prestigious position as well as the financial ruin which might accompany it were presented in explicit detail. The Indian's intimate contact with the land, supported by supernatural and religious ties and overtones was presented on several occasions as Samayoa Chinchilla's characters were seen offering corn to the virgin and openly speaking with her on occasions and asking for her assistance in planting and harvesting. With this and numerous other examples the emphasis given by the Indians to the supernatural became truly explicit. The author's use of Indian words and phrases and his examination of the Indian's psychological orientation made his stories more authentic.

Throughout Madre milpa, Samayoa Chinchilla's Indian characters exhibited a sense of indifference to developments around them. They avoided any overt displays of emotion and rigorously followed the dictates of customs on the one hand, but on the other were deeply religious and superstitious, exuberant at religious fiestas and processions, and garish in their dress when this was financially feasible. A marked syncretism was observed in their religious practices and in business dealings with their peers they were astute. With Ladinos they lacked confidence.

Cuatro suertes, another collection of short stories by Samayoa Chin-

chilla which appeared in 1936, treated more extensively than Madre milpa the influence of myth and legend upon the lives of the Indians, particularly those which have been handed down from one generation to another. The entire Indian world of animals with souls and supernatural powers, witches, ghosts, demons and assorted beings with supernatural assets, all passed in review for the reader. Presented also were stories of individuals with common afflictions such as perpetual drunkenness and other social maladies. The Indian's reliance upon the supernatural was fundamental. His difficulties and anxieties as well as his state of misery he explained by use of the supernatural. The pain of his daily reality was alleviated by an extensive supernatural world which comprised in a sense an interior world. By concerning himself with some of the ancient tales found in the Popol Vuh, Samayoa Chinchilla touched upon one of the chief characteristics of the modern Indian in Guatemala, his reliance upon the past as a means of forgetting the present and as a guide for his actions in the present and in the future.

Many of the stories of Samayoa Chinchilla were patterned directly upon or taken from the Popol Vuh. The legend "Siguan Tinamit" was essentially the story of the creation to be found in the Popol Vuh. The legend "El maíz blanco" where a Pipil Indian out of desperation after recurrent crop failures pulled out his teeth and planted them and by some supernatural power found that his milpa was filled with white

corn some time later was presented in detail, as were a host of other stories and legends coming from the Popol Vuh. With his works Madre milpa, Cuatro suertes, and Estampas de la costa grande, Carlos Samayoa Chinchilla stepped beyond the mere presentation of the Indian in his environment and discussed him as a person with psychological and supernatural constructs that one would not encounter in Ladino society.[38] The Indian appeared for the first time as a being who was not only addicted to the ceremonious and the religious or superstitious, but was frequently controlled by them.

Miguel Angel Asturias, today considered as one of the greatest writers in Spanish America and one who was able in his works to capture the very key to the Indian's soul and mind, was at an early age introduced to the social, political and economic ills of Guatemala. His mother was a school teacher and his father a lawyer.[39] From Miguel's birth in 1889, the utter misery and suffering endured by the common people under a regime such as Estrada Cabrera's and the rich and yet uncontaminated spiritual qualities of the poor were to leave an indelible impression upon Asturias. By 1920 he had finished his thesis for a degree in law, "El problema social del indio," in which he presented a denunciation of the treatment of the Indian.

In the early 1920's Asturias, while studying political economy at the Sorbonne in Paris, became interested in the ancient civilizations of Central America. With the guidance and encouragement of the Ameri-

canist Georges Raynaud, Asturias's studies at this point left an imprint and influence upon him that would be evident for the rest of his life. While in Paris, with the collaboration of a friend, J. M. González, he translated the Popol Vuh and the Annals of the Xahil. He also wrote a considerable portion of one of his novels which would be published at a later date, El señor presidente.[40] During this period he also wrote numerous essays, some poetry, and a few short stories, motivated in part by associations with such individuals as Antonio Caso, R. Midel, Valle Inclán, Miguel de Unamuno and Pablo Picasso.[41]

In 1930 Asturias published his first major work.[42] The Leyendas de Guatemala not only brought the attention of other writers and critics to Asturias, but introduced in a somewhat different fashion the mythological and legendary past of the Indians of Guatemala to the reading public in Europe.[43] Often poetic in its orientation and in its vocabulary the Leyendas presented the mythological and often exotic complexity of the Indian past in Guatemala to a Europe which knew little of the subject. The nostalgic sentiment, the mystery and the spirit of the Popol Vuh appeared throughout the work to the extent that the real and unreal seemed completely merged in a surrealistic construct, a dream world which had been punctured and altered and ultimately influenced by the Spanish conquest centuries earlier.

In presenting a series of Indian legends and stories, Asturias was able to capture in effect the supernatural world that was the mind of

the Indian. Portrayed was his psychological orientation which glorified the ancient accomplishments and sought to preserve the ancient values and ideas before a more modern civilization which threatened to erase all that had been Indian Guatemala before the conquest. With the Leyendas, Miguel Angel Asturias launched his career as one of the most consistent exponents of the indigenista persuasion in Guatemalan letters, a career which would on numerous occasions utilize the exotic environment of the Mayas as the means of pointing out a multitude of modern social ills.

The first novel of Miguel Angel Asturias, El señor presidente, although not appearing until 1946, has been considered by many to be his best novel. Although the novel treated a country under the repression of a cruel dictatorship rather than the Indian, the Indian, nevertheless, appeared in the novel and was affected by the circumstances in this environment. In the atmosphere of the dictatorship, one of moral decay, violence, and fear, the Indian appeared as the traditionally dispossessed being, cheated and robbed by Ladino officials of not only his meager possessions, but of his dignity as well. In the novel General Canales, who has fallen from the dictator's favor, encountered an Indian on a highway trying to conceal several kernals of corn which he robbed from someone else. When asked the reason for this, the Indian replied that he was not a thief out of desire but out of necessity as a local functionary had taken for no apparent reason many of his personal possessions including farm

animals and part of his crop yield.

The Indian, without a name in the novel, was a person banished in every sense of the word from the environment to which he belonged. He was the object of the Ladino's disdain. The Ladino did not understand the Indian nor did he wish to. He was simply regarded as an object to be exploited and utilized by the Ladino to benefit in some way his personal desires which had been utterly corrupted by the dictatorship. Throughout the novel the atmosphere of violence, anguish, hate, hypocrisy, and unlimited misery affected everyone including the Indian who, being at the bottom of the social scale, suffered more severely than the others. The only advantage the Indian had over non-Indians was that he, through prior conditioning, was at least better able to cope with the situation psychologically and emotionally. He could at least escape mentally and psychologically into the world of his ancestors.

With El señor presidente, which would later bring the Nobel Prize in literature to Asturias, the message seemed to be that only through violence leading to social change can one achieve liberty from the oppression of dictatorships like those of Manuel Estrada Cabrera in Guatemala. Passivity cannot and does not alter one's set of circumstances in such surroundings. Although El señor presidente was not devoted exclusively to an indigenista theme, the portrayal of a regime whose every facet was controlled by one man and his favorites, served

to explain at least one reason why the Indian was still not an effective and complete part of national Guatemala. The decades of personalismo and caudillismo in Guatemala had prevented this.

The nameless Indian of El señor presidente, however, was to be given an extensive treatment in Asturias's second novel, Hombres de maíz, which appeared in 1949.[44] With this work Asturias presented the perennial battle in Guatemala between civilization and that which is distant from modern civilization or more specifically the battle between the Indians and those who represent the modern world, the maiceros whose dedication was the profit motive. Convinced that they had descended from corn, considered a sacred entity, the Indians plant only enough to satisfy their hunger while the maiceros plant vast quantities of the grain in order to enrich themselves and gain a handsome profit.

The conflict between the practical world of the maicero and the mythological and legendary world of the Guatemalan Indian was the thread around which the stories of Hombres de maíz were woven. As with Leyendas de Guatemala, except to a much more appreciable degree, the reader of Hombres de maíz becomes completely immersed in the real yet unreal world of the Indian with its parade of mythological beings with supernatural powers. Gaspar Ilon, cacique of Pisiguilito and symbolic of the Indian orientation, opposed the advance of the maiceros who threatened not only to ruin the traditions of his ancestors

but destroy the environment of the Indians. This he was to accomplish with the assistance of his wife Piojosa Grande, the deity of rain.

With the arrival of the fiesta to celebrate the coming of summer, the Indians prepared in minute detail all that was necessary for the celebration, drinks, special foods, dances and various ceremonies. The entire affair, however, ended in tragedy when Gaspar was betrayed and poisoned. Although he recovered, Gaspar's eventual death by drowning in a river temporarily rendered ineffective the struggles of the Indians. Nevertheless, Gaspar Ilom's fight against the maiceros continued as he returned to the story as a legendary hero able to utilize the forces of the supernatural and the mysterious in the efforts to limit the influences and the expansion of the Indian's enemies.

In the second section of Hombres de maíz the Indian's witches exerted their vengeance upon those responsible for Gaspar's death. Tomas Machojon's son who had lived with Vaca Manuela and who was instrumental in the plot against Gaspar, disappeared mysteriously and was damned to a hell similar to that described in Dante's Inferno. Throughout the first two chapters daily incidents were intermixed by Asturias with the extraordinary and the fantastic and in so doing he portrayed the emotional and psychological constructs of the Indian personality and mentality in Guatemala.

A similar combination of the real and the magical was evident in the third and fourth sections of the novel. When the Tecun family's

efforts and those of a curandero were unable to cure the hiccups of the grandmother, Calisto Tecun and his brothers decided to hunt the "venado de las siete rosas." This mythical being, whose extensive powers would have cured the ailing grandmother, and the curandero, as it developed, were the same creature. With a similar marriage of the supernatural and the real, Chalo Godoy met his death in the fourth section of the novel. Results were obtained by the Indians in their fight against the maiceros when they cooperated with the supernatural elements in their environment.

The legend of María Tecun, who deserted her blind husband Goyo Vic, was presented in considerable detail by Asturias in Hombres de maíz. Through use of the magical and the supernatural, Goyo Vic's blindness was cured as he vowed to search for his wife by attending the various village fairs and fiestas. These Asturias described in all their picturesqueness with fireworks, dances, disguises of feathers, brilliantly colored costumes and the pandemonium of glee that surrounded them. The legend, popular throughout Guatemala, ended with Goyo Vic and his friend Revolorio unsuccessful in their search and in jail for illegally selling aguardiente.

In the last part of the novel entitled "Correo-coyote," the mystical sector of the Indian's personality was again presented, but this time explained. Nicho Aguine, the individual charged by his village of San Migual Acatán to carry the mail to the capital, returned home to find

which best and most accurately explained the Indian and distinguished him from the Ladino who was equated with the maiceros. The entire life of the Indian was seen as being surrounded by myth and legend to the extent that it pervaded his acts and thoughts and affected his activities and decisions. The various personalities in the supernatural world of the Indian had direct cause and effect capabilities on the course of his daily life and were ultimately influential in the outcome of his various endeavors. The Indian's unique ability to create legend, hinted Asturias, was the result of the rigor he encountered in his real life, myth often serving to elucidate his otherwise inexplicable misery.

The tone of Hombres de maíz as well as the focal point of the Indian's life-style was the shadowy and image-filled world of the supernatural, the world of the Popol Vuh. Through the literary usage of the metaphor, the simile, allegory, and the repetition of phrases and words, the basic description of the world beyond and its power as envisioned by the Indian became most explicit throughout his work. The correlation between Hombres de maíz and the Popol Vuh was, indeed, a positive one as Asturias's novel on occasions took on an epic tone similar to that of the Popol Vuh. The similarities between the adventures and legends in the two works were striking. For the indigenista movement in Guatemala, however, the important contribution of Hombres de maíz was the fact that the Indian of Guatemala was presented in detail as an individual whose outward activities were and are, more often than not,

influenced and controlled by persuasions of the mind and a mystical and supernatural orientation which recalled the philosophical and psychological constructs of a former ego. The world of the Popol Vuh was a definite part of the world of the modern Guatemalan Indian.[46]

Miguel Angel Asturias's quest to understand and portray the fundamental root of the Guatemalan Indian did not stop with Hombres de maíz. By 1965 with the appearance of Mulata de tal, again the mystical world of the Indian with its fantasies, witches, human plants and supernatural beings, was presented including the "mulata de tal," a creature which laughed like a dog showing its teeth and had eyes which burned like candles.[47] The novel was replete with exotic metamorphic changes, devils and gods with extensive and often frightening powers like Cal Cuj, the devil that ate human heads and Zipacnac, the earth devil. The novel was terminated with a great cataclysm which destroyed this mystical and evil world through which Asturias's characters Yumi and Nini had been forced to traverse.

Mulata de tal like Hombres de maíz provided another window through which the mentality of the Guatemalan Indian could be observed. Throughout the novel the forces of evil, the army of devils, sought to disrupt and ultimately to destroy the harmonious order of the universe that had been created by the gods, the forces of good. Asturias described the Indian's concept of his existence where everything had been influenced by cosmic forces and events controlled by these supernatural beings. The setting

of Mulata de tal was the inferior level of the planes of existence, the Xibalba of the Popol Vuh where the forces of evil, the devils, resided. With this world Asturias expressed his disdain and disgust for those elements which have adulterated the Indian's religion, his civilization, and his mentality, particularly the Christian religion and the mestizaje as represented by "La mulata." The resulting syncretism Asturias saw as having accepted the evils of both and having resulted in a product far worse than the lowest level of either of the two contributing factors. The Mulata de tal represented the symbol of this hybrid mentality which was without name, without personality, and degenerate. The dynamics of this condition, said Asturias, have resulted in an Indian whose soul and whose mentality is a constant battleground of mutually antagonistic forces, an acceptable and harmonious outcome being virtually impossible.

In comparing the Indian's religion with that of Christianity, Asturias felt that the style of Catholicism introduced by the Spaniards was not genuine as the Indian through devious means was compelled to accept the new faith.[48] It was around the issue of religion and the Indian's refusal to accept Catholicism entirely that Asturias in Mulata de tal and in other works expounded his contention that the Indian in observing tenets from both religions had become an individual between two camps, a being without a clearly defined religious or spiritual personality, a syncretic confusion. Christianity demanded an understanding of con-

cepts and an intellectual orientation unfamiliar to the Indian's experience. The result was the Indian's reliance upon his own religious concepts and the preservation of these in the presence of another's religion which did not render supernatural explanations for things that could not be rationally explained. For Asturias this religious syncretion was one of the disasters in the historical experience of Hispanic America.

In many of the works of Asturias the contrast between reality and fantasy as well as their often unique blending was a consistent theme. Many of his characters, although living in a real world, seemed to be motivated by unreal forces, often to the extent that their major decisions and their lives were directly affected and influenced.[49] The protagonists were frequently a product of a distant past and a hard and threatening present demanding the intellectual and spiritual energies of the characters often to the extent that they were unable to control their own destinies.

Asturias, in a series of novels, also addressed himself to another factor which adversely affected the lives of the Indians of Guatemala. With the novels Viento fuerte, El papa verde, and Los ojos de los enterados, Asturias presented the evils of foreign economic domination upon Guatemala, particularly that of the United Fruit Company.[50] The effects of such a domination were, of course, felt by the Indian populace. Although not to be included as indigenista novels, these three works presented the Indian agriculturalist who in his effort to over-

come the political and economic power wielded by the gigantic Tropical Platanera S. A. became influenced by and eventually engulfed in the vacuum of corruption and moral decay that was the world of this company. The force of imperialism left the Indian a degenerate being, devoid of his land, dependent upon the miserable salary and living conditions of the banana plantation worker and subjected to an empty life-style punctuated by a perpetual state of drunkenness and moral depravity.

The Indian of the Popol Vuh and the Maya-Quiché past became a mechanical entity and a number in a cruel and mechanistic environment lacking any impetus toward humanism and serving to destroy the Guatemala of past eras. The world of El papa verde and the world in Viento fuerte with its capital in Chicago represented Xibalba, the hell of the Quichés, and was ultimately destroyed, at least as far as some of its protagonists were concerned, by the intervention of the supernatural forces of the Quiché's ancient world. With these works Asturias was able to capture and cast masterfully in a literary framework the mystically oriented Indian mentality, an effort that has caused him to be considered as one of the greatest writers in Hispanic America and certainly a leader among indigenistas.

Prior to the 1944 Revolution much of the literature of indigenismo had been either romantic in nature or tied to the historical. Direct and forceful protest was infrequent. Following the fall of Ubico, however, there emerged several authors, including Miguel Angel Asturias

and Mario Monteforte Toledo, whose dissatisfaction with the experience of Guatemala was expressed in their literature. Asturias's novels had stimulated the sentiments of social protest among his readers. Monteforte Toledo, rather than emphasizing the mythical and supernatural facets of the Indian, preferred to concentrate upon the real and the psychological. The Indian in his daily life was his forte as he took the indigenista theme in Guatemalan literature to its greatest height.

Mario Monteforte Toledo's first novel Anaite which appeared in 1948 revealed an author intensely interested in the Indian and his environment.[51] The Indian of El Petén and his customs and general psychological composition were presented but the force of the author's argument was the basic injustice and the abandoning by society of the native in this area of Guatemala. The ferocity of the Petén jungles as described in the novel reduced the Indian to a life where his reactions to his most basic instincts were the main factors in his life-style. The theme of Anaite was that of the protagonist's struggle against the savagery of the jungle, its intense heat, serpents, its unfriendly geography and the violence of the Usumacinta River. Jorge, the protagonist, went to El Petén in search of wealth, encountered the full force of these surroundings and was forced to adapt to what was described as a green hell.[52]

Although the principal part of Anaite was devoted to descriptions of El Petén, the fourth portion of the novel dealt with the Lacandón In-

dians. The rudimentary life-style of this group was discussed in some detail. Their existence was, in the author's description, an exotic and mysterious one.[53] Using essentially the approach familiar to the modern cultural anthropologist, Monteforte Toledo studied the religion of the Lacandones, replete with several deities, one for planting, another for water and others. The religious hierarchy included evil deities as well as those dedicated to good. Offerings of food were frequent. Although the ferocity of the jungle brought about the demoralization of many characters such as the gringo Dr. Wood, the Indian lived a happy and tranquil life. When Jorge returned to the city, he found that his intended had married someone else. Interpreting this as merely one of the numerous examples of civilization filled with untruths and deceptions, Jorge returned to El Petén to live with the Lacandones. This description of the Lacandones was the first dedicated toward unraveling to some extent the mysteries surrounding this obscure Indian group.

With the appearance of Mario Monteforte Toledo's Entre la piedra y la cruz in 1948, the indigenista persuasion in Guatemalan letters was given its most exacting and its most complete explanation within the confines of an art form.[59] With this novel the epitome of modern Guatemalan indigenismo was expressed. Basing this novel around the theme of social revindication, the entire life of the Indian in Guatemala was expressed as it had not been before.

Entre la piedra y la cruz, among other things, depicted the frustrat-

ing and complex situation in which the modern Guatemalan Indian often found himself, caught between the cultural values of his Indian birth which he had known from childhood and the world of the Ladino which he acquired through education, experience and direct exposure. Entrapped between these two worlds, the protagonist, Lu Matzar, ended in being alienated from both camps. Matzar, who symbolized the Guatemalan Indian, wished to incorporate part of the civilization of the Ladino into his experience but could only do so by discarding his Indian existence or a considerable portion of it and in effect becoming a traitor to his Indian past. The piedra of the title represented the Indian belief and life-style, its traditions and its religion replete with supernatural beings and mystical constructs. The cross represented Christianity, the world of the Ladino, the syndrome of the conquest, modern civilization and the advantaged race. The cross in another respect signified the destruction of the Indian and his particular world. Throughout the novel, the state, both mental or psychological and spiritual, of the Indian was, indeed, a precarious one. "El debía tener el alma entre la piedra aborígen y la cruz del blanco. Entre la piedra y la cruz; así había vivido siempre. Por eso era doblemente malo y doblemente bueno."[55]

In the first section of the novel Lu Matzar was a child living in San Pedro La Laguna in the altiplano with his sisters La Pit and La Trey. Here the Indian environment of this area of Guatemala was magnificently

portrayed by Monteforte Toledo, a world of solitude disrupted only by the necessity of survival at the material level. The land and the sacredness of corn were interwoven with the world beyond. Monteforte Toledo described the daily life and routine of the Indian agriculturalist in the highlands, a life of arduous labor and meager material returns, and customs of marriage and the cofradía. When Tol Matzar, Lu's father, was offered the most prestigious position of the cofradía, he had to decline because he lacked the funds needed to sustain the honor. When the principales became angry over Tol's decision, he decided to migrate to the coast in order to earn money and better the precarious economic situation facing him and his family.

The dilemma in the highlands was essentially that Matzar's neighbor had filed false claims to part of his lands, but as Cutuc, his neighbor, was wealthy in comparison to him, the local authorities tended to side with him. Matzar, in an effort to solve the problem, traveled to Sololá, the cabecera of the district, and hired a lawyer. The litigation had not been terminated and the lawyer was seeking his fee of 2,000 pesos. To make matters worse, Matzar and many of the other Indians in his immediate area were indebted to Tacho Zeledón, who had purchased much of their corn at a very low price and now that times were hard was reselling it to them at exorbinant prices. Facing this uncertain set of circumstances Matzar contracted to work on the finca "Las Dalias."

With the second part of the novel entitled "Costa," the rigorous exploitation of the Indian migrant worker was exposed at length by Monteforte Toledo. In the surroundings of the coastal plains, the Indian coffee worker reached a low not encountered in the highlands. Here, surrounded by intense heat and disease, alcohol became the only means available for easing the pain of an unfriendly atmosphere. The Indian degenerated as an individual and as a human being, as he was unmercifully exploited by the White and Ladino plantation owners. Tol Matzar, constantly subjected to criticism and the disdain of his superiors and reminded that he was barely above the level of the beast, was worked like an animal and seldom paid as he was maintained essentially as a slave through a perpetual state of indebtedness to the German owner.

While in this environment Lu's sister La Tray was attacked and sexually abused by the finca owner's son. The indignation of the Indians over such an act, however, remained only indignation as the local authorities through various subtleties failed to bring the son to account for this crime. At this point the gulf between the Ladinos and the Indians became apparent as the Indian in the Ladino world was, indeed, without rights or resources of any legal sort. Lu's father was assisted in this ugly affair by Don Téofilo Castellanos, characterized in the novel as a good Ladino who not only resented the incident but used this event as an opportunity to lead the fight against the exploitation of Guatemala and its Indians by foreign plantation owners.

Using the brutalization of La Tray as a focal point, Monteforte Toledo centered an attack upon the foreign plantation owners who considered the Indians as beasts inclined toward laziness, robbery and an immoral life.[56] In such an environment Lu as a child learned to accept the fact that the future would be difficult for him while it would be easy and full of advantages for the White and the Ladino. He also learned racial prejudice and that the most basic ability to be acquired was simply how to protect oneself from the foreigner and Ladino.

In the third section of the novel Lu Matzar was taken into the household of Teófilo Castellanos where he experienced the Ladino world and was educated in the Ladino fashion. In describing Lu's relationship with Margarita Castellanos, a girl the same age as he, the author dealt with the psychological approach of the Indian toward the Ladino, the symbol of his exploitation. Lu consistently felt inferior and uneasy around Margarita yet was willing to do various things for her just to hear her thanks. The perpetual inferiority syndrome, conditioned by 400 years of conquest, abuse and exploitation was explained in detail as were many of the effects of this treatment upon the emotional and psychological make-up of the Indian.

Lu's experiences in school, where he was to be trained as an Indian teacher, were taken advantage of by Monteforte Toledo to expose the ills of Guatemalan education at least as far as the Indian was concerned. During his experiences in school Lu was constantly reminded that he

was an Indian and not a Ladino and, therefore, inferior before the Ladino as was the native before the conquistador. His range of activity and his bounds of freedom of expression and activity were limited because of this while in school and after. Although on many occasions he wanted to cry out against restriction, he was expected to continue in the traditional pose of resignation before the superior Ladino. The methods of education were largely useless to Lu and the other Indian students. Repetition and memorization rather than comprehension and understanding prevailed. The mental constructs and the values of the Indian rather than being utilized as avenues toward education were flatly ignored as the students were required to memorize the texts prepared by the Ministry of Education. The author used the experiences of Lu to criticize the incompetence of Guatemalan school teachers and their obsolete texts and antiquated methods.

With Lu's return to San Pedro La Laguna, the author explained the immeasurable gap between the Indian and Ladino worlds. The one, with shoes, automobiles, electricity, and innumerable material advantages could not be easily combined with the rudimentary life-style of the highlands. Lu at this point in the novel was caught in all respects between "la piedra" and "la cruz" as he grasped on the one hand his Indian past yet looked to the civilization of the Ladino with all of its technological complexities. He became alienated from both and eventually disillusioned with both.

In the fourth section of the novel Lu began a career as a school teacher in Sololá and encountered disillusionment. After leaving his school convinced that he could do great things for his fellow Indians, he discovered quite the reverse. He could do nothing. With few educational materials, infrequent pay checks of only eighteen dollars a month, a crude school house and countless other obstacles, he became discouraged and rebelled against the entire educational system. Disgusted with the life of a rural educator and not willing to become an impotent agriculturalist, Lu, now Pedro Matzar, decided upon a military career. The Indian world of Lu Matzar had died.

In the final section of the novel Pedro Matzar was a captain in the army and hated and feared by all for his cruelties and bloody reprisals. As he proceeded with his duties he was required to go to the finca Las Dalias. After a sequence of events the story found Pedro facing jail and death for having allowed the escape of two young boys whom he was ordered to apprehend. In reviewing his life he announced the indigenista message of Entre la piedra y la cruz and concluded that all Ladinos were not bad. There had been Castellanos and his daughters and Don Lino, maestro of the schools in Chichicastenango. He also concluded that not all Indians were good as he recalled Tacho Zeledón and Cutuc.

He decided that one must look to a man's soul rather than to the color of his skin or to his material abundance or lack of it. In life there was neither good or bad, neither stone or cross but only man.

A man's life between "la piedra" and "la cruz" was material only. The novel ended on the optimistic note that Guatemala could become integrated and that this cannot be accomplished by Ladinos and Indians but only by Guatemalans. The novel ended when Pedro was released from jail during a revolt and reunited with Margarita Castellanos to begin the task of establishing an integrated country where both Ladinos and Indians would have a common identity.

Throughout Entre la piedra y la cruz Mario Monteforte Toledo not only pointed out and denounced the injustices and miseries facing the Guatemalan Indian, but proposed remedies and solutions. Monteforte Toledo knew the Indian first hand and sought to portray the essence of what it was to be an Indian. He both praised the Indian for his insensitiveness and his intuitive abilities and criticized him for his blind acceptance of custom and tradition and his constant rejection of the modern and the Ladino, his passive resistance.

Monteforte Toledo's contention was that the Indian must be taught to overcome the precariousness of his life and achieve a more secure economic pattern of life. "The Indian is not lazy. He must be taught to work more effectively, that is all." If this could be done, integration can be achieved if, in conjunction with an effective program of education, the land problem can be solved. The government should protect the ejido and make known the fact that Indian agriculturalists may use the tierras nacionales. The author concluded the novel by urging the

development of a Guatemala that would include both Indian and Ladino as equal factors in the identity and in the progress of the nation. The Indian problem may be solved by educating him in order to integrate him into the nation.[57]

Entre la piedra y la cruz, considered by some to be the greatest indigenista novel in Guatemalan letters, was not the only work by Mario Monteforte Toledo which dealt with the Indian. Donde acaban los caminos which appeared in 1953 concerned the experience and frustrations of a medical doctor practicing in an Indian community.[58] As Dr. Zamora began his practice he encountered the mistrust and deepseated suspicion of his clients, a situation which he was never to overcome fully. As a local druggist explained to Zamora, the power of the local curandero was often extensive and the Indians felt the tools used by the physician and the medicines dispensed by him were detrimental to them and designed by the Ladinos to harm them.[59] Calling upon a doctor to cure a sickness was breaking tradition and denying the abilities of the curandero or witches who had cured the ill for generations.

The denigration of the Indians by the local military chieftain who thought of them as beasts represented the traditional Ladino point of view as the local jefe urged Zamora to return to Guatemala City. As he stated, the Indians were too ignorant to avail themselves of his services. When Zamora spoke to the military commandant of his region about the presence of typhus among the Indians, the commander de-

nied that it existed and affirmed that the Indians were sick because they were ignorant and did not bathe regularly.[60] The Ladino's disdain for the Indian included a local priest who explained to Zamora that the Indian and his cult was infinitely inferior to Ladino or European culture. Because of this the Indian was kept in his state of ill health, infected with parasites and prime for acquiring such diseases as gangrene, infections of all sorts, malaria, typhus, yellow fever, and chronic dysentery. With the help of Antonio Xahil, Zamora came to understand the Indians and recognize the problems confronting them and in so doing became the means by which Monteforte Toledo expressed the misery of the natives and attacked those unwilling to do something toward solving this, the primary problem of Guatemala.

Through his novels and short stories, Mario Monteforte Toledo became known for his ability in presenting an introspective analysis of his characters, particularly his Indian characters. In 1949 he published La cueva sin quietud, a collection of short stories containing several dealing with Indians.[61] With his story "El joven pájaro," the fiesta of San Pedro in Chichicastenango was presented in considerable detail as was the custom of the Palo Volador. The two principal characters Diego Cox and Toña Izxcaya were analyzed and presented another picture of the workings of the Indian mind. In the story "Dos caminos salen del pueblo" the theme of the impossible love of a young Ladino physician for an Indian girl presented the multitude of problems to be encountered

by the two given the separateness of the Ladino and the Indian worlds. In this tale the psychology of the Zutuhil Indian was presented at length. With these as well as other short stories such as "El hombre y un muro," the interior life of the Indian was viewed in substantial detail.

Besides Miguel Angel Asturias and Mario Monteforte Toledo, who represent the major thrust of the indigenista orientation in Guatemalan literature, several other authors must be included for their contributions, either directly or indirectly, to this movement.

Although Virgilio Rodríguez Macal cannot be included as an indigenista writer as Asturias or Monteforte Toledo, his works Carazamba and Junaja exposed the violence and the repressive character of the tropics and particularly the region of El Petén.[62] The Indian appeared in these novels but not as a major character. In his last novel, Guayacán, the protagonist Valentín Ochaeta spent some time among the Lacandones whose life of simplicity and purity was viewed as a favorable and ideal life-style.[63] Valentín's experience with the Lacandones served as the means of a commentary upon the customs and traditions of these primitive peoples, a group whom he felt had been forgotten by the Guatemalan government, which made no effort to protect them or undertake any program whatever to improve their economic well-being.[64] The Indian thus remained in a disadvantaged state and in the environment of the tropics turned to alcohol like Pacaja in "Ah, malaya don Annrico" as the means of forgetting his present and unpromising future. For Pa-

caja, aguardiente became an elixir, an escape mechanism, a means which made his life tolerable.

Using essentially a slice of life technique in many of his short stories, Rafael Zea Ruano in Cactós presented a series of rural scenes of the Indians in the region of Chiquimula.[65] Their language usage was authentically portrayed as were their customs and folklore. "La cita" was concerned with Chico Palma's love for Jacinta, this love being opposed by Don Berva, her father. Although a humorous story, "La cita" portrayed a rural scene typical of Guatemala's eastern zone. "La cosa agena" presented a view of the Indian as a naturally moral person, often at the expense of his desires and a person who maintained his morality as prescribed by custom. Regionalistic in its orientation, the stories in Cactós presented the Indians and their environment in the region of Chiquimula as well as their folklore. It described beliefs in artificial fires, witches, the evil eye, and numerous other characteristics common to the region.

Where Cactós was more a study in folklore, Zea Ruano's last novel Tierra nuestra was essentially a social tract wherein the author attacked the Guatemalan government's constant abuse of the Indians and the theft of their lands.[66] He criticized extensively the Ladino's treatment of the Indian. Throughout the work Zea Ruano concentrated upon several popular reforms insisted upon by modern indigenistas. The lands which had been expropriated or stolen from the Indians should be returned.

The juridical system should be reworked to include the Indian and the penal system should be reformed to allow for a fair treatment of the Indian. The governments should dedicate a substantial portion of their energies and capabilities toward alleviating the miseries of the Indians and incorporating them into the nation as a whole. In this work Zea Ruano expressed the goals held by most indigenistas.

In the arena of folklore, other than Asturias, the most accomplished indigenista writer has been Francisco Barnoya Gálvez. His Han de estar y estarán, published in 1938 in Chile, contained a wealth of Maya legends as well as a concerted effort on the part of the author to reconstruct the Guatemalan Indian world prior to the conquest.[67] Through stories such as "La siguanaba" and "La leyenda del Xocomil" the polytheistic and ideally beautiful world of the Quiché and Cakchiquel, unadulterated by the Spaniard, was presented to the reader. Many of the pre-Columbian customs observable in Guatemala today as well as the Indian's real-supernatural surroundings were placed in an ideal atmosphere devoid of the social and economic complexities of modern society. Recalling and recounting the glories of this indigenous past, Han de estar y estarán cannot be included, strictly speaking, among the literary products of indigenismo. Nevertheless, this work helped bring the attention of the reading public in Guatemala to the depth and genuine worth of the Indian's cultural heritage.

An understanding of the Maya culture was assisted by investigations

that were conducted during the 1920's and 1930's. During this period a series of field studies by the Carnegie Institution of Washington were begun which resulted in part in the discovery of new archeological sites at Uaxactún and Xultún and a detailed study of the monuments of Copan by Sylvanus G. Morley which was published in 1920. A later work by Morley entitled The Ancient Maya which was published in 1946 became a reference text for Maya studies. Efforts also by expeditions of scholars from Tulane University and studies by Manuel Gamio, Jorge Larde, and Samuel K. Lothrop brought Maya studies into high gear at a time when indigenista literature was beginning to gain prominence. J. Eric Thompson's study The History of the Maya which was designed for popular reading and appeared in 1931 served to popularize the entire topic of the Mayas and generate interest in the modern-day Indians of Guatemala.[68]

Rosendo Santa Cruz, known more as a regionalist in Guatemala than as an indigenista author, concentrated upon the Vera Paz area where he was reared for the setting of many of his short stories. The Indian in his works constituted a distinct part of the settings he created. In direct contact with the natives during his childhood, his stories abounded with Indian cultural characteristics, their legends and tales, their superstitions, and their general orientation to life. For Rosendo Santa Cruz the nostalgic and melancholic Vera Paz would not be genuine without the presence of the Indian. For him the Indian was Vera Paz.

The author affirmed in his works that his artistic mentality and

point of view had been conditioned by Indian stories and legends he had learned as a boy. Throughout Tierras de lumbre, written in 1938, the mystical and magical creatures of the Indian world including "Los patojitos del monte" and "El machum," and numerous others appeared and reappeared.[69] Santa Cruz, like Carlos Samayoa Chinchilla and Miguel Angel Asturias, discussed and depicted the rejection and scorn an Indian who had become a Ladino felt from among his own people. "Ramon Cantoral is a bad Indian, he rides horses and speaks Spanish like any Ladino."[70]

In Cuando cae la noche and other works, the Indian was presented in a sympathetic and friendly light as a being whose love of the land was boundless and whose dedication to the supernatural was extensive. This dedication was a basic factor in the social thought of all Guatemala in the author's opinion. As Santa Cruz maintained, the Indian and his influences had permeated the entire gamut of Guatemalan life and customs.

One writer certainly belonging to the indigenista camp in Guatemala was Adalberto Jiménez. Following the path of Mario Monteforte Toledo, Jiménez concentrated his attention in many of his literary works upon the Indian mentality, his psychological composition and orientation. Beyond this, however, Jiménez in stories such as "De regreso a la montaña" commented upon the injustices forced upon the Indian, particularly his entrapment into and his exploitation by the Guatemalan

Army without legal recourse of any kind.[71] When Antonio, the protagonist in "De regreso a la montaña," was exploited by the Military, the psychological effects of this experience were discussed at length. Antonio made frequent comparisons of his experiences with those of his ancestors. Faced with utilizing new clothing, consuming new foods, and forced to endure the brutal insults of his superiors, Antonio was found slowly to lose his characteristics and his personality as an Indian and to adopt the rude and base characteristics of the soldier and the environment of capital city politics which he neither understood nor wanted to. Caught in a revolution, Antonio took an active part not knowing what he was doing or why. After undergoing the horrors of a slaughter during the revolution, simply discharging his rifle randomly, Antonio fled from the capital and returned to the altiplano to live once again in the physical and spiritual beauty of the campo. The story was concluded with the statement by Jiménez that the patria of the Indian would always be his village as it had been for centuries. With this story Jiménez explains what many indigenistas considered to be the main problem in Guatemala, a problem of dual identities, one Indian and one Ladino. As long as this dual identity continues to exist, said Jiménez, the Indian, as symbolized by Antonio, will always return to his highland village and attempt to live apart from the world of the Ladino.

Essentially from the time of the conquest, the Indian in Guatemala as well as in most of Latin America was the subject of various com-

mentaries and literary works. The native populations in their natural environment were often a focal point for writers, explorers, clerics and scientists alike. However, much of this body of literature produced prior to the twentieth century had not rendered an accurate account of the Indian. He was romanticized and subjected to European norms and values to the extent that the overview of him and his culture was at best superficial. It was only with the emergence of indigenismo that a genuine focus upon the Indian was obtained. To become aware of the Indian problem and its various characteristics and manifestations has been the overall goal of a variety of indigenista literature in Guatemala. Indeed, a survey of the indigenista literature of Guatemala presents an informative and often quite accurate picture of the Guatemalan Indian as provided by such writers as Miguel Angel Asturias, Mario Monteforte Toledo, Adalberto Jiménez, Rosendo Santa Cruz, Virgilio Rodríguez Macal, and the others who comprise this body of literary persuasion.

Throughout the indigenista literature of Guatemala the Indian appears as a person motivated and influenced extensively in his daily life by an often complex metaphysical and mystical system of values constantly interwoven with his physical and real life. Generally displaying a characteristic resignation, the Indian has been described as normally courteous, devoted to the ceremonial, disdainful of things Ladino, tied by tradition and custom to the land and the village level

of society, syncretic in his Catholicism, in his economic outlook a penny capitalist, and the most fundamental element in the national experience of Guatemala.

Certainly a major focal point in Guatemalan indigenismo has been to present in narrative and descriptive fashion the various Indian groups within the national boundaries. Beyond this, however, another theme had emerged during the twentieth century which would ultimately have profound effects beginning in 1944. This was basically the point of view that the Indian was Guatemala's greatest social and economic problem. Ravaged by disease, frequently experiencing malnutrition, poorly educated if at all, seldom receiving a living wage for his labor, and the object of innumerable prejudices and means of exploitation as well as living under governments not inclined to a concern for the Indians, the majority of Guatemala's population was in most senses not a part of Guatemala. These ills were not only discussed at length in the literature of indigenismo, but were presented collectively as Guatemala's greatest domestic problem and one in need of correction as soon as possible.

Guatemalan letters gave to the indigenista movement an understanding of the Indian subconscious and an understanding of the psychological, sociological and religious aspects of the Indian mind and culture. It also provided an updated explanation of Indian customs and life-styles Above all, it brought to attention the fact that the Indian possessed an

identity that was an important and integral part of the Guatemalan national identity. That the reality of the Indian would remain unchanged for centuries until 1944 when a new orientation was to be noted is basic to an understanding of the entire issue. To a considerable extent it was the realm of the written word in the form of stories and novels that served as a catalyst for a new approach to the entire issue under two presidential regimes that would dedicate a substantial share of their energies toward altering this centuries old situation.

# NOTES

## CHAPTER III

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# CHAPTER IV

# THE AVENUE TOWARD NATIONAL INDIGENISMO IN GUATEMALA

The unexpected exit of Lázaro Chacón from the presidency near the end of 1930 left the republic in a state of political limbo. With the helmsman of social and political reform gone, the energy and drive for reform seemed suddenly suspended in an atmosphere of questioning and uncertainty. What was to happen with the numerous economic and social programs that he had initiated? The government of the second designate who succeeded Chacón gave every indication that its chief intent would be to follow his policies. However, a coup d'etat suspended this speculation. When the new government was not recognized by the United States, the republic was again plunged into the morass of political uncertainty. The confusion of the situation, however, was soon settled when Jorge Ubico Castañeda who had achieved a majority in the elections of 1931 was proclaimed president by the legislative assembly on February 14, 1931.[1]

A national administration headed by Jorge Ubico indicated to many that the advances achieved during the regimes of Orellana and Chacón in the areas of public health, education and economic and social progress would be continued and there was little in the background of the

new president to indicate otherwise. A Guatemalan by birth, Ubico was a product of the Polytechnic School in Guatemala City. Well trained and energetic, his advances through the military ranks had been rapid and his various responsibilities and assignments had been executed promptly and effectively. As jefe político of Alta Verapaz beginning in 1907 he initiated several public works projects including the improving of the streets in the Department capital, the construction of roads, bridges, and highways, the building of schools and hospitals, and the undertaking of various measures to protect the public health.[2]

Having gained national attention as an energetic and unquestionably honest public official, Ubico was sent to the coastal department of Retalhuleu in 1911. Within a few months he had restored order to the area which had been disrupted by local bandit groups and had improved the nearly defunct educational system in the department. Literacy training programs were begun, teachers' salaries were increased, and Boy Scout troops were organized. By 1918 his campaign against yellow fever in Retalhuleu was a notable success and Ubico's prestige as a national political figure was considerable.[3] Having served between 1918 and 1931 as Minister of War, as Deputy of Amatitlán, and in several other posts, Ubico came to the presidency with an impressive range of experience and accomplishment.[4]

Jorge Ubico in many respects represents one of the enigmas of

the Guatemalan political experience in this century. On the one hand there was the Ubico who was a stern and demanding official and who in the course of some fourteen years took his nation down the path leading to a firm dictatorship. Yet on the other hand there was the Ubico dedicated to economic progress, advance, and improvement but often at the expense of social progress. The accomplishments during his tenure as chief of state were several. Economy in government affairs was imposed by the strictly regulated administration and expenditure of treasury funds. By rigidly enforcing revenue and tax laws and implementing periodic reductions in the national budget, what had been a deficit of several million dollars in 1930 was a budget surplus by 1934 to the extent that his government was able to operate on a cash basis. This had been made possible by a revamping of the Guatemalan currency system and preventing the export of gold out of the country.[5] During the Ubico period public income on a year by year basis was generally greater than public expenditures. In an effort to prevent the graft that had been common in Guatemalan political circles for years, Ubico raised the salaries of government officials and initiated a law whereby the wealth and property holdings of all public officials was subject to government audit both before and after a term of office.

In the area of public works, Ubico's record was impressive. Potable water, new market centers and electrical power were brought to many rural areas of Guatemala for the first time. Road and highway

construction reached an all time high as projects were begun throughout the republic, including Guatemala City, where an extensive paving program of the city's streets was implemented. The Guatemalan section of the Pan American Highway was completed and cooperation with the United States resulted in the completion of the International Pacific Highway. Approximately one-half million dollars was spent each year on highway construction, the money being obtained by a direct tax, or a forced work period of two weeks for those unable to pay the tax. Advances in transportation and communication were evident as La Aurora airport was completed and telephone and telegraph services were expanded. Travel means were considerably expanded as bus service became a reality for the first time to many rural areas of the republic. The railway system was also enlarged. By 1939 radio communication had come to many areas of the republic with "La voz de Guatemala" bringing special broadcasts to many remote areas for the first time.

The dictator's efforts to improve health conditions in Guatemala were many and included a national sanitary code. In conjunction with the office of the President, a newly created Public Health Council, the Army, the Ministries of Interior and Justice, and rural sanitation and public health officials were all encouraged to follow an integrative program dedicated to improving health standards throughout the republic. By 1942 health services had extended to many areas of rural Guatemala where none had previously existed. Cholera, yellow fever and malaria

were largely conquered.

Jorge Ubico's view of progress extended to areas other than public finances and public health. As others before him, he sought to improve and diversify agriculture. He encouraged the cultivation of new crops and attempted to increase the production levels of existing crops. Free seeds and fertilizers were made available, swamp areas were drained, and numerous irrigation projects were begun. An Agricultural Credit Bank was established in 1934 to provide loans to agriculturalists for the purchase of farm machinery and to defray the costs of such things as land preparation, harvesting and construction. Cooperation with the United States during the war brought further advantage to Guatemala, particularly in the form of technological assistance. Some advances were made in education during Ubico's tenure as president such as the establishment of a Dental School and a School of Economics and Social Sciences. Yet this and many of Ubico's innovations were offset by 1943 by what constituted the other side of the dictator.[6]

From 1930 until 1943 Guatemala had experienced another type of change separate from the advances achieved in public health and other areas of concern to Ubico. The republic that was to be dedicated to progressive reform in 1930 had become a stern dictatorship by the 1940's and one not unlike those of Manuel Estrada Cabrera and Rafael Carrera. Political power generated only from Ubico who exercised a personalismo certainly equal in its ramifications and range of influ-

ence to that of some of his predecessors.[7] Ubico kept himself personally informed about the nation's business and demanded unimpeachable honesty from his public officials. Periodic unannounced audits of local receipts and expenditures often by the president himself and inspections of schools, power plants, roads, and other facilities often resulted in the firing of one official and the appointment of another, sometimes without reason. Court would be held on the occasions of his visits, petitions heard, and settlements and decisions rendered quickly and efficiently. Opposition was not tolerated. Dissenters to the all-pervading "ubiquismo" and those advocating social reform often found themselves in jail without juridical recourse or hustled into exile.[8]

The Indian majority, like the dictator's opponents, felt the sting of ubiquismo. Although Indians were received at the National Palace for the first time during the Ubico years and although justice was occasionally in their favor, their position in Guatemalan society as the laboring class was locked in as never before. Vagrancy laws of earlier periods were revitalized and Indians were required to work a minimum of 150 days per year on the fincas. Those failing in this regard were punished as vagrants.[9] Under this system the plantation owners reigned supreme and in conjunction with accepted government policies ignored social progress. The Indians, often through various means of debt peonage, were paid inadequate wages, subjected to a substandard diet, and seldom re-

ceived medical aid or vacations if at all. Work on Sundays was done without pay. In addition to this all Indian males were obliged to work for a minimum of two weeks per year as laborers on highway construction projects. As a group they could be inducted into the Guatemalan army at any time. With the plantation owners setting their wages often at only a few cents a day and with the country's judicial system favoring at every turn the finqueros, the Indian experienced conditions not substantially different from those of his ancestors under the conquistadores. The plantation owner, the primary authority figure at the local level in Ubico's Guatemala supported the government and the government supported the finqueros. The Indian was left out. Exploitation of the Indian majority again became the means to achieve economic advance at the expense of social progress.[10]

As the repressive nature of "ubiquismo" became more and more apparent, it also became evident that only a revolution could alter the domestic situation for the Indians. Although Guatemalan indigenismo in many respects would be reborn in the ensuing revolution of 1944, its impetus for rebirth necessarily was to come from abroad.

Interest in the indigenous groups in Latin America did not suddenly experience a renaissance in the 1940's which led to the beginnings of an effective and viable indigenismo in Guatemala and elsewhere. Such an interest had been germinated some time earlier on the international scene with some practical application in Mexico years before such an

orientation was to be noted in Guatemala. Several Americanists of French nationality were the first to take the initiative and create an international organization through which they could exchange ideas and viewpoints on the Americas and their indigenous inhabitants. Prior to 1858 when the Societé Americaine de France was created, Americanists such as Charles Etienne Bourboury de Bourbourg, Jules Crevaux, Eugene Boban, Henri Coudreau and others had simply corresponded with one another in keeping abreast of current research and ideas relating to the Americas. The Society provided thus an institutional framework for Americanist scholars in France and by 1875 the Society members could claim some achievement in the fact that the Revue oriental et americanne had presented scholarly articles to the interested public by many of its members.[11]

In an effort to consolidate further the increasing interest in the Americas, the first international congress of Americanists was organized by the Society and held in Nancy, France in 1875.[12] This first congress and those which were to follow prior to the turn of the century corresponded with an increasing interest in Europe in the origins of the ancient peoples of the Americas including the Mayas. Two participants, J. M. Torres Caicedo of El Salvador and Ernesto Quesada of Argentina were quick to recommend a detailed consideration of the post-Columbian indigenous groups.[13] Once the first congress had been concluded, numerous others were to follow and although the academic

orientation of these congresses through the years would change from archeology to linguistics and later in the twentieth century to applied and cultural anthropology, they continued to remain a focal point from which interest in the Indian cultures of the Americas was stimulated and developed.

It was in part a resolution passed by the nineteenth congress held in Washington in 1915 that stimulated scholarly interest in Guatemala. It was resolved that the republics of the Americas should institute laws that would protect their national monuments and archeological sites as these were deemed valuable sources of information on America's aboriginal past. The delegates further agreed to stimulate and encourage research on Indian topics whenever possible in their respective countries.[14] Although these early congresses accomplished little that would directly benefit the Guatemalan Indian population in a real sense, it was from such a framework and especially from a neighboring republic that indigenismo would eventually come to Guatemala.

Mexico, like its southern neighbor, contained a sizable Indian percentage in its total population which had attracted the concerns of interested parties since the colonial period. This interest, however, to the extent that it resembled modern indigenismo, developed decades earlier in Mexico than in Guatemala. It was during the Porfiriato from 1876 to 1910 that modern indigenismo in Mexico first appeared. Many of the intellectuals of the Díaz period, advocates of Spencerian social

thought, accepted the fusion of the two faces, Indian and Spanish, as the essence of the Mexican personality. They also believed in the educability of the disadvantaged Indian.[15] Justo Sierra asserted the fundamental importance of the mestizo in his works and claimed that the mestizo was the dynamic factor in Mexico's history.[16] Francisco Pimentel, an historian and a student of Indian languages, felt the mestizo to be the future of Mexico while Andrés Molina Enríquez, an historian and sociologist, felt the mestizo to be dominant over the European because of a biologically determined process. Others such as Ignacio Manuel Altamirano, Gabino Berreda, and Rafael de Zeyas Enríquez felt that educating the Indian would bring real social progress to Mexico.[17] These intellectuals prompted the early growth of an indigenismo that would flower later in the twentieth century.

Indigenismo, however, was not strictly speaking only a point of view favored by the intellectuals. Porfirio Diaz, an archetype of the Latin American national caudillo who had exercised a powerful and complete control over Mexico since 1876, was becoming slightly more liberal near the end of his tenure in allowing some social reforms to be presented. During this period it was the governor of the northern state of Chihuahua, Enríque Creel, who first sponsored and then adopted an indigenista program and made it operative, one of the first such moves since the era of Benito Juárez. On November 3, 1906 Creel promulgated a law which put into operation a junta dedicated to the im-

provement and protection of the Tarahumara Indians of Chihuahua.[18]

It was hoped the junta would be effective in limiting the exploitation of this Indian group by unscrupulous whites. The Indians were given tracts of land wherein they could pursue whatever agricultural endeavors they wished or raise livestock. It was stipulated that this land could not be sold for any reason or obtained by fraud. Creel called for the establishment of an Indian school in the area which would teach the Tarahumaras practical subjects. A commission of ten members was created entitled the Junta central protectora de indígenas to see to the protection and betterment of this group. The commission, as the law of 1906 expressed it, was to be responsible for the social, educational and economic improvement of the Indians.[19] They were also to make available to the Indians seeds and implements for the planting and cultivation of their lands. They were to set up rural schools for elementary education and to encourage a philanthropic program whereby Indian children could be sent to the capital to live with white families. Creel's program for the Tarahumaras, however, was never implanted fully.[20] In the violence which swept Chihuahuha during the Mexican Revolution such reform programs were engulfed and forgotten.

In 1910 in a letter to Porfirio Díaz, Francisco Belmar, a justice of the Mexican Supreme Court and secretary to the Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística as well as its founder, recommended the

formation of a Sociedad Indígenista Mexicana that would have as its exclusive object the study of the Indian races in Mexico. The official response to this suggestion, however, was far different from what had been characteristic for many years. Don Porfirio, in answering Belmar's letter in 1910, was in favor of his suggestion as was Ramón Corral, the vice-president. Díaz applauded the idea and promised his support. With official approval confirmed, the Sociedad Indígenista Mexicana began operations with the support of a variety of lawyers, writers, and members of Diaz's officialdom.[21]

The founding members of the Sociedad Indígenista Mexicana, through a series of publications, had indicated the dedication of their society to a number of goals. Foremost was to be the beginning of a general study of the Indian races in the Mexican republic from pre-Columbian times to the present. Also to be given considerable attention were the Indian languages and to what extent they compared to one another and the ethical constructs of the Indian groups. Also to be studied and sponsored were the archeological remains of these groups and methods by which the modern Indians could be educated, civilized, and incorporated into the national entity. The Society was to publish a bulletin and to sponsor a congress which would meet every two years to discuss various facets of indigenismo and the Indian.[22] The enthusiasm that had centered around the creation of the Sociedad Indígenista Mexicana in Mexico City had not been confined to the capital. It had been the intent of the foun-

ders of the Society to organize satellite societies throughout Mexico. Several such organizations were founded, mostly in 1910, in the states of Jalisco, Morelos, Hidalgo, Guerrero and Oaxaca. The first congress of the Sociedad Indígenista was scheduled to meet in Mexico City in September of 1910.[23]

After several delays, the First Indianist Congress was convened on October 30, 1910 and was sponsored by Porfirio Díaz who for so many years had given only lip service in Indian education and indigenismo. Delegates from locations throughout Mexico listened to scholarly presentations on a wide variety of topics including education of Indian youth, integration of the Indian race, Indian legends, the actual state of the Indians of Sonora and problems of sanitation and health among the Indians. Several government leaders including Federico Gamboa, Undersecretary of Foreign Relations, Pedro L. Rodríguez, Governor of Hidalgo, Carlos Flores of the Mexican Supreme Court, and Olegario Molina, Minister of Development, attended, denoting some high level political concern over the entire question.[24]

Certainly one of the most advanced indigenista positions to be taken at the congress was that of José Diego Fernández. Considering the Indian to be one of the foundations of the Mexican nationality, he recommended that extensive efforts be undertaken to integrate the Indian economically, morally, and socially. He proposed an educational program that would have placed a specially trained school master in each

Indian village of the republic. His task was to teach the Indians to become literate and to acquaint them with various technological advances and implements as well as processes that would not only raise their standard of living but would bring about economic integration.[25]

At approximately the same time, Dr. Jesús Díaz de Léon, president of the Sociedad Indígenista Mexicana, argued that the Indian, who had been the greatest factor to date in creating the national wealth of Mexico, deserved certainly a right to share in the advantages brought about by his efforts. He related that Indian integration on a wide scale would not bring about the economic and social disaster predicted by some but would instead carry Mexico to new heights of progress and national greatness.[26] The Indian was the key to the future development of Mexico. The congress adjourned on November 4, 1910, leaving those who had attended enthusiastic about the prospects of reform and the promise of meaningful change.

Given the open and official support of the Mexican government, it appeared in 1910 that the society could and would accomplish a great deal. However, as Belmar and others such as Jesús Díaz de Léon spoke of Indian integration, mass literacy programs for the Indians, guarantees of land titles and the creation of a truly productive Indian population, the government's enthusiasm and interest declined. The Porfirian formula of upper sector control of the lower sectors to which the Indian belonged simply could not be altered so quickly. The emer-

gence of the revolution not only curtailed the activities of the state indigenista organizations but those of the Sociedad Indígenista Mexicana as well. Many of the thoughts expressed at the congress dealing with Indian integration and Indian rights were either temporarily discarded or incorporated into the Zapata revolt and other popular movements during the turbulent period of the revolution. The scene, nevertheless, had been set for later developments and indigenismo had reached a stage in maturation not to be observed anywhere else in Latin America.

Surviving the revolution, this interest in indigenismo was manifested in the form of an organization in 1917 called La Dirección de Antropología. Headed by Manuel Gamio, an energetic and enthusiastic scholar, this organization sought to amass as much information as was possible about the Indians of Mexico.[27] It was not long before Gamio's group began publishing a journal entitled Ethnos dedicated to anthropological themes. Although only in circulation for four years, the articles in Ethnos were on a wide variety of topics and kept alive the academic interest in Mexico's indigenous groups as did another journal, El Mexico antiguo, which dealt with subjects in Indian archaeology, ethnology, folklore, linguistics, and pre-history.[28] Although later individuals such as Moises Saenz and Alfonso Caso would contribute greatly to Mexico's natal indigenismo, no national programs aimed toward the Indian specifically were implemented prior to the administration of Lázaro Cárdenas.[29] Indian themes were expressed largely in the arts

through the paintings of Diego Rivera and others. The leaders of Mexico were still sweeping away the ashes and rubble left by the revolution. Yet through the political turmoil of the 1920's and the retrenchment of the Calles period, indigenismo continued to develop.[30]

At the seventh Pan American conference held in Montevideo in 1933 it was urged that a gathering of experts on Indians be called to consider in substantial detail the myriad of problems facing the indigenous groups of the hemisphere. The two delegates from Mexico, Dr. J. Manuel Puig Casauranc, Secretary of Foreign Relations, and Gerardo Vásquez, head of the Office of Labor, had made the proposal and recommended that the entire matter be handled by the Pan American Union. By 1934 Mexico had in operation a Department of Indian Economy and several other nations were showing signs of a genuine interest in the question.

In 1935 at the Pan American Institute of Geography and History meeting in Washington, it was suggested that scientific institutions should be established in the republics of the hemisphere for studying the Indian situation in the Americas. This concern had expanded in its scope sufficiently until by the eighth Pan American Conference held at Lima, Peru in 1938, one of its resolutions was essentially that the Indian populations of the Americas should not only be protected by public laws but should be effectively integrated into the lives of their respective nations. It was decided that with the assistance of the Pan

American Union, the first Inter-American Indianist Congress should be held in La Paz, Bolivia in 1939 and that an Instituto Indígenista Interamericano should be established. Subsequent political turmoil in Bolivia prevented the meeting of the scheduled congress. It was rescheduled to convene in Pátzcuaro, Mexico in April of 1940.[31]

Indigenismo, certainly in the current sense of the term and assuredly in the sense of what it would become in its subsequent institutionalization in several Latin American nations, was given birth at this congress. Meeting in a building adjacent to the church of San Agustín in Pátzcuro, representatives from all of the republics in the Americas except Paraguay attended the congress. Representing Guatemala at the conference was Carlos Girón Cerna, the Guatemalan Consul in Mexico, and the only official delegate. His instructions were simply to observe and report to his government. Present in an unofficial capacity was David Vela, a well-known Guatemalan journalist, newspaper editor and scholar who had been invited by the Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Mexico. Others who would play important roles in the congress were Luís Chávez Orozco of Mexico, John Collier of the United States, Moisés Sáenz of Mexico, José Muñiz Vergara of Cuba, Manuel Hidalgo, Chilean Ambassador to Mexico, Hector Escobar Serrano, Secretary of Public Education in El Salvador, and Lázaro Cárdenas, President of Mexico.[32]

The two representatives from Guatemala were far from being pas-

sive spectators in the proceedings of the congress. Girón Cerna, in effect, disobeyed his instructions by assuming an active role in the congress. He chaired the committee organized to discuss juridical questions pertaining to the Indians in the republics represented. A point debated by this committee was whether or not special legislation should be adopted throughout Latin America to deal adequately with the Indian populations. The coexistence of two or more distinct racial stocks in most of the republics and the commonly held contention that the Indians were economically and culturally inferior indicated to some that such legislation was needed.

Girón Cerna disagreed with this premise and maintained that what was needed were changes in the existing juridical systems which would recognize the social, cultural and economic conditions of the Indians.[33] If such could be developed, he affirmed, the presence of a dual judicial system could be avoided which he insisted would encourage separateness and inhibit the development of a nationalism which would include the Indian. His point of view carried and in the recommendations posed by the committee, all American nations were encouraged to take into consideration Indian customs and circumstances in arriving at judicial decisions concerning them.[34] David Vela's role at the congress was likewise an active one as he functioned as a member of the executive committee of the congress. In this capacity he was active in formulating the constitution of the Instituto Indígenista Interamericano and see-

ing to the publication of the recommendations of the congress in El Imparcial in Guatemala. He also cooperated with his friends Collier and Chávez Orozco, president of the congress, and several Mexican indigenistas in many of the debates and presentations. Through this experience and these associations, David Vela would later bring to Guatemala several of the fundamentals and contentions of indigenismo as they were being expressed in Mexico.

An address by Lázaro Cárdenas opened the congress. President Cárdenas enunciated many of the basics of indigenismo and pointed out that Mexico's Indian problems were similar to those encountered throughout the hemisphere. He stressed that the Indian should receive equal consideration as a worker, a man, and a citizen as his mestizo counterpart, but should be considered also as the major factor in any effort, international or domestic, aimed toward progress of any kind. The aim, felt Cardenas, was not to indigenizar Mexico or Latin America or to mexicanizer the Indian, but rather to integrate this group into the national scheme of things utilizing their sound qualities and characteristics and diminishing their vices and disadvantageous characteristics.[35] Cárdenas repeated a contention he had expressed in 1936 when he related that the government of the Revolution considered it an obligation to give preferential treatment to the Indian race of the republic more than any other. He stressed that one of the basic obligations of public administration was the care of the Indian groups. Electrified by Cárde-

nas' opening remarks, the delegates began their debates and deliberations which would eventually result in an impressive list of recommendations.[36]

One factor, among other things, which seemed to be clearly understood by many of the delegates to the congress was that the Indian was an exploited being and had been so treated since the conquest. Threatened indeed by the rapid course of events was the very basis of this culture with its rich heritage and its wealth of artifacts and artistic productions. Fearing that this could well be lost in the hustle of the twentieth century, the delegates adopted a series of resolutions designed to protect and promote this cultural heritage. The congress urged all nations to adopt legislation designed to protect Indian artifacts and organize institutions which would see to the improvement of the production and distribution of Indian crafts, textiles and other artistic productions.

One who strongly urged the adoption of this type of legislation was David Vela, who felt the protection as well as the encouragement of the production of authentic Indian textiles and crafts to be a basic step toward achieving the goal of economic integration of the Indians in Guatemala. Artes populares produced by Indians, he felt, should be authenticated and protected from unscrupulous duplication and encouraged to develop further by national governmental institutions. To aid in this it was decided that Indian items, particularly textiles, should be sent to

a central location in the hemisphere such as Panama whereby hopefully they would become known and the demand for them would eventually increase. Such items, it was urged, should be allowed to circulate throughout the continent duty free.[37]

Gamio, speaking before the congress on the failures of many indigenistas throughout Latin America to devise and put into operation a program that could integrate the Indians into modern civilization, focused upon one of the major difficulties facing those so dedicated. Exactly how is an Indian group to be identified and differentiated from one which is Mestizo or Ladino? Although any number of standards could be used, what Gamio was interested in achieving were guidelines whereby most Indian groups could be correctly and accurately classified. Calling upon his extensive training and experience in anthropology, he proposed three distinct categories for classification: linguistics, ethics, and culture.

Those who spoke only an aboriginal language were to be classified as Indian. The ethical and overall cultural orientation and cultural practices of a group should be used to classify them as Indian or non-Indian. By using these guidelines, such factors as tradition, food, dress, domestic implements, customs, conceptual patterns and general development and orientation, as well as racial or physical characteristics could be considered to render a more effective result. A similar approach would be used a few years later in Guatemala by the Aré-

valo government.[38] It was eventually resolved that cultural characteristics should be considered in determining whether or not a given group should be considered Indian.

A question which was frequently debated during the congress was what one considered to be the primary element in the Indian problem. What was the very basis of this problem? For many education appeared to be the fundamental issue. With the tools that an adequate education could provide, integration or incorporation of the Indian into western society could be achieved.[39] Quite differently from many sectors in Latin America, these indigenistas at Pátzcuaro thought the Indian to be considerably more than a being barely above the level of the beasts. The section of the congress devoted to education concluded that the Indian had an aptitude equal to either the Mestizos or the Whites and that this could be applied in favor of contemporary progress. Many, including David Vela, felt that the Indians possessed a vigorous personality, a positive sense of personal dignity and the abilities for a positive collective association and social organization.[40]

A majority of the delegates attending the congress, including David Vela and Luís Chávez Orozco, felt that these abilities and attributes should be utilized in some practical manner to educate the Indian. They concluded that the Indian language was the avenue to the Indian mentality and his rich cultural heritage, and that this language would be the best media for teaching literacy.

A series of postulates were presented for adoption by the delegates which, when taken as a whole, reflected accurately the indigenista views on education. One of the postulates stated that regardless of the system of education to be utilized for the Indians, their dignity, sensibility, moral interests, and cultural and social organizations were to be preserved. In both vocational as well as in other educational programs, the Indian's language was to be utilized whenever possible. This language was to be taught to Indian children in rural schools and Indians were also to be made literate in the national language. School programs, it was argued, should be commensurate with the Indian life styles and should operate concurrently with a literacy program for adults, the latter being deemed most fundamental to the entire question of Indian education. To facilitate such an educational program, the production of textbooks for both children and adults was encouraged. Schools were to be established as quickly as possible in Indian communities and competent Indians were to be utilized as teachers whenever and wherever possible. As a supplement to this, cultural missions were to be organized in support of this educational effort.[41]

Much of this, however, only expressed aims and goals that would be desirable. More specific recommendations were also presented.[42] William W. Beatty, in relating to the delegates the experience of the United States in Indian education, touched upon many factors that were later adopted officially by the congress.[43] It was resolved that any

educational program should include the following in order to guarantee the health, sanitation, and continuing productive capacity of the community: potable water should be introduced into the community as quickly as possible and its continued use guaranteed; medical personnel should be readily available to those in each rural community who might need medical treatment; plots of land near the schools should be set aside for instruction in agricultural methods; instruction in livestock care should be made available, as well as a library and recreational facilities. Whenever possible, emphasis was to be given to sanitation, household economy, facilities for bathing and washing clothes, and other daily habits and tasks. To man these rural schools the committee recommended the selection and training of promising students as teachers, these individuals to oversee the general improvement of their own people in a particular area.[44]

With the aim in mind of protecting native cultures, particularly from the threat of extinction or adulteration, the history of the Indians was to be taught in the schools as well as their customs. Methods of producing Indian textiles more efficiently and more rapidly and methods for their efficient marketing and distribution were to be emphasized. To be given particular attention was instruction on the legal rights the Indians could expect and instruction on civic rights and responsibilities. Lastly, the establishment of institutes of investigation was to be encouraged.[45] Basic to the role of this new type of school for the

Indians was to be the social and economic improvement of the rural Indian and his surroundings. Only with this accomplished, the delegation concluded, could integration be considered a distinct possibility.

Education for the various Indian groups in even one Latin American republic such as Guatemala was replete with obstacles that would have to be overcome if an indigenista inspired educational program was to become effective.[46] Certainly one of the greatest difficulties to be faced was that of language and, in particular, obtaining educational materials in the various Indian languages. Detailed studies and grammars as well as learning materials were needed. To promote such investigation the delegates recommended the calling together of the first congress of linguists, particularly those whose concentrations were American Indian languages. Such an organization or meeting which would be called the Congreso Interamericano de Linguística Indígena Aplicada was to encourage the scientific study of Indian languages, encourage the study of social problems of Indian groups relating to linguistics, stimulate publication of monographs and other materials about Indian languages, study the problems inherent in the use of an Indian language as an instructional tool, study the methodology and history of teaching in the Indian languages, and stimulate the use of the native languages in ethnological, social and psychological investigations. The first congress of linguists met in Costa Rica in December of 1940.[47]

Another factor deemed quite important by the delegates to the Inter-american Indianist Congress was the general health of the Indian and his physical environment. Such infectious diseases as yellow fever, malaria, cholera and dysentery would have to be brought under control and the Indians instructed in measures to prevent acquiring them. It was recommended that medical personnel trained in tropical medicine would be of tremendous assistance. Indian concepts and beliefs centering around sicknesses would have to be studied and corrective measures undertaken where necessary. To improve the general level of health, it was urged that health centers be established in the Indian zones of Latin America. It was recommended that a commission be appointed in each country to study the Indian's diet and make appropriate recommendations. In papers presented to the congress it was emphasized that the diet was considerably deficient in vegetables, proteins, vitamins and minerals. Another factor which would later receive attention was caloric and vitamin loss because of the consumption of alcohol.[48] The delegates emphasized the need of massive efforts toward improvement in both quality and quantity of Indian housing as well.

For centuries a constant problem facing the Indian was the poor distribution of usable land. At the bottom of the social and economic scale the Indian traditionally was required to scratch out a living from the poorest land available. The delegates suggested that in those coun-

tries where this was a serious problem the governments should dictate equitable means to alleviate the situation, such as land redistribution, resettlement or internal colonization, road construction, and agricultural credit.[49]

After consideration of the many problems facing the Indians of Latin America, it was decided by the delegates that an International Indian Institute for the discussion, debate and study of the Indian should be established. The tasks of the Institute included the collection and distribution of information to member governments on a variety of topics relating to the Indian problem and the compilation of information on programs throughout the hemisphere to integrate the Indians. The Institute was also to initiate, direct and coordinate investigations that had immediate application to the Indian problem in the Americas. The Institute was to function as an advisory agency to the member governments and was to edit publications relating to indigenista topics. Thus charged, the Instituto Indígenista Interamericano began operation in Mexico City.[50]

Indigenismo for some was born in Pátzcuaro, Mexico in 1940. For the first time the dynamics of indigenismo and the problems of the Indian had been given detailed consideration at an international conference. Although the congress decided very little that was to have any immediate effects upon the Indians of the hemisphere, the important fact about the Pátzcuaro Congress was that it brought to light not only

through its resolutions but also through the debates and discussions that took place, a reasonably accurate concept of what indigenismo would entail in future years. It would be a persuasion dedicated to the improvement and integration of the Indian groups of Latin America and would involve an orientation toward the idea that this could be accomplished through governmental programs in such areas as sanitation, education, public health, and through various cultural programs.[51] The Pátzcuaro Congress brought into focus the belief many had held through the years since the colonial period that the Indian was a positive element in the American experience and should be assisted in order that he might develop rather than disappear. The Indian was seen as the basic human cultural factor of the Americas.[52]

The influence that this conference had was in part a result of the prestige it had acquired from the people who attended it. Lázaro Cárdenas, who had addressed the convention and extolled the aims of indigenismo, was known throughout the Americas as the Mexican president of the masses and one dedicated to economic as well as social reform. Others who had attended the convention represented the elites in their particular disciplines such as David Vela and Carlos Girón Cerna from Guatemala, Luís Chávez Orozco, Moisés Sáenz, J. Manuel P. Cassuranc, Manuel Gamio and Alfonso Caso from Mexico, John Collier from the United States, and numerous others.

The indigenista conference provided Mexico with a stimulant as

far as indigenismo was concerned. The country's most reknowned scholars came to associate themselves with this new favorable view of the Indian. Given official recognition and encouragement by Cárdenas, all seemed to favor the development of a vibrant and active indigenismo which offered the promise of better things to come for Mexico's Indians. But what of Guatemala?

The year 1940 was not an auspicious time in Guatemala for the development of an active indigenists program. The country appeared to be completely controlled by Jorge Ubico and "ubiquismo." The caudillo directed a firm dictatorship which resisted most efforts toward social reform. Legislators either opposing Ubico or suggesting change often found themselves on a train bound for Mexico and forced exile. The atmosphere of Ubico's Guatemala was not one conducive to even a limited reform program let alone one as potentially far-reaching as indigenismo.

Where Guatemalans such as David Vela, Girón Cerna and others would have experienced difficulties in developing an indigenismo in Guatemala prior to 1944, the concept was yet very much alive. To a considerable extent it was the activities of North American scholars during this period prior to the Guatemalan revolution that kept interest in the Indian from being extinguished. Using as a point of departure many of the archeological studies that had been completed in the 1920's and 1930's, several North American anthropologists studied in Guate-

mala during the Ubico years. Morris Siegel of the University of Chicago published a series of studies in the early 1940's dealing with Guatemala's Indians. These included a study of cultural concepts in 1942 and four pioneer studies on education, religion, and cultural change. All were published between 1941 and 1944. Robert Redfield, known as an accomplished anthropologist, made several trips to Guatemala during the Ubico period and wrote in 1938 a study entitled "Primitive Merchants of Guatemala." His "Culture and Education in the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala" appeared in 1943 and became a model for future anthropological studies of Indian cultures.[53]

Another anthropologist active in Guatemala at this time and one who later became active in the Instituto Indígenista Interamericano was Sol Tax. Along with Redfield and Siegel, his studies in Guatemala became models for anthropological investigation. Perhaps his greatest study, El capitalismo del centavo, completed largely during the closing years of the Ubico regime, pointed out the fundamental tenets of the Indian village oriented economy and how it operated in rural Guatemala. His study was timely in that it pointed out indirectly the need for economic integration. His other works in Guatemala including "Culture and Civilization in Guatemalan Societies," "Ethnic Relations in Guatemala," "The Municipios of the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala," and "Town and Country in Chichicastenango" constituted fundamental contributions to the bank of knowledge of Guatemala's indigenous groups.[54]

The cooperation between Ubico's officialdom and North American scholars was certainly evident with Felix Webster McBryde. His epic study Geografía cultural e histórica del suroeste de Guatemala was the result of several years of investigation in Guatemala where he was assisted by several governmental officials including Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes, Director General of Caminos in 1940 and earlier as jefe político of San Marcos, Manuel Tejada Lierena, Director of Aduanas for Guatemala, Delfino Sánchez Latour of the Department of Foreign Relations and Erwin Deger of the Instituto Químico Agrícola Nacional. In the preface to his study, McBryde expressed his thanks to the jefes políticos of the departments of Guatemala and to many of the local governmental authorities who provided assistance in many capacities.[55]

Besides McBryde, the list of scholars active in Guatemala during Ubico's tenure was impressive. Norman Wright in 1944 wrote a work entitled Los Indios de Guatemala and in the same year George M. Foster studied nagualism in the republic. John Gillin began a long and productive career in anthropology with a study in 1943 entitled "Houses, Food and the Contact of Cultures in a Guatemalan Town." These studies plus those of Lilly de Jongh Osborne and others published in the 1930's and various research projects that were begun during the Ubico period, in effect kept alive an interest in the Indians of Guatemala at a time when a domestic indigenismo could not develop because of the unfavorable views of it by the government.[56] The fact that many of

these studies were the result of cooperation between Ubico's government and the Carnegie Institute in Washington posed a curious contradiction. President Ubico seemed open to North American scholarly endeavors in Guatemala but was apparently unaware that their studies exposed the environmental neglect surrounding the Guatemalan Indians and would help to provide the basis from which indigenismo would later develop. Ubico and his officials no doubt felt that the government's patronage of scholarly studies of Indians fostered the country's international image but implied no practical implementation of suggested improvements.

Where Ubico's government had cooperated with North American scholars in their efforts to study the Indian groups of Guatemala, it had not been cooperative or favorable toward those wishing to instigate reforms, particularly those that would benefit the Indians. For nearly fourteen years Ubico ruled Guatemala: during this time no major social legislation designed to benefit the Indian majority was passed.

Tired of over a decade of personalismo and repression, university students and professionals in 1944, by voicing their opposition to an ubiquista judge, initiated a chain of events that would unseat the caudillo. Threatened by a general strike and opposed by numerous sectors in the electorate including students, teachers, professional men and several groups of workers, Ubico resigned on July 29, 1944, just three days after the beginning of a nationwide general strike.[57] For

the first time in years the political barometer in Guatemala was recording open discontent on many fronts including the issue of the Indians of the republic. On July 13, 1944, Guillermo Grajed Mena, writing in El Imparcial, delivered one of the first editorials in years condemning Ubico's handling of the Indian problem and the status of the Indian throughout the country:

> The Indian in our land is not clean, does not know of sanitation, does not defend his rights because he is unfamiliar with what they are and he lives on the margin of the national life-style. For this the Indian is considered as unreliable, lazy, lacking in ambition, sad and sick and destined only to a life of manual servitude. To call a white or mestizo an Indian is to insult him. However, in works of art the Indian appears happy, clean, strong and knowledgeable. Forgotten is the sickness, illiteracy, and misery of the Indian . . . .[58]

In the tumult of discontent in July, new political parties were formed which called for reforms that would affect and benefit the Indians. The Partido de Acción Nacional in its platform as well as in the pronouncements of its leading member Clemente Marroquín Rojas, a well-known journalist and political commentator, called for "pan, instrucción, libertad y justicia" for all Guatemalans and social security measures and a vast public health program that would include Guatemala's rural Indian population.[59] The Partido Democrático which advanced the candidacy of Adrián Recinos, besides demanding an agrarian policy, medical service and an educational system that would affect the nation's rural Indians, called for the formation of an Indian Institute.[60]

To be organized along the guidelines established at Pátzcuaro in 1940, this Institute was to act as the coordinating agency for the numerous reforms that would be instituted that could affect the Indians. The Institute's task would be to study as well as to administer to the needs of the republic's Indian population and see to the integration of the Indians. In publicizing their platforms, the Frente Popular and the Vanguardia Nacional, among the extensive list of reforms recommended, advocated as a goal of fundamental importance the conscious incorporation of the Indian population and the development of a system of education for Indians utilizing their ethnic and cultural values.[61] For most of the newly formed political parties, the Indian situation and the Indian problem were discussed in the sense of what could be done to improve the circumstances surrounding this sector of the republic's population.

With the flurry of political activity during July and August the Indian had become a point of considerable attention not only among those of the newly formed political parties, but for many writers as well. The Indian and his condition became a central issue in the numerous expressions of social and political discontent. José Guillermo Salazar, in a series of articles in El Imparcial in September, expressed the view held by many that the primary function of the next government in Guatemala should be to give life to those institutions which could lead to an improvement in the Indian situation and see to his incorporation into

Guatemalan life.

Throughout the period from Ubico's resignation until the middle of October, the political atmosphere in Guatemala began showing signs of a violent breakdown. Opposition to General Juan Federico Ponce, appointed by Ubico to succeed him, was mounting at all levels of society and by October 20, 1944, a revolution was in progress. Led by university students, civilians and a clique of anti-Ponce army officers, the revolutionaries began hostilities by capturing a cache of Lend Lease weapons. After several days of violent street fighting in Guatemala City and elsewhere throughout the republic, the opposition emerged victorious with political power concentrated in the hands of a three-man military junta.

## NOTES

## CHAPTER IV

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# CHAPTER V

# THE BEGINNINGS OF A NATIONALISTIC INDIGENISMO IN GUATEMALA 1945-1946

The turbulent summer months of 1944 which resulted in the ejection of Jorge Ubico and his successor Federico Ponce from political power by October 20, 1944 left Guatemala in a state of considerable uncertainty. What was to happen after fourteen years of the mano duro of Ubico and his associates? Had the revolution simply provided the means whereby a new national caudillo could gain power or was something new in store for the nation as a whole? Although on the one hand the politically active sector of the populace seemed suspended in a state of wonderment and uneasiness, on the other hand people seemed collectively to exhale a breath of relief at the prospects of an end to repression that had characterized ubiquismo.[1]

This was particularly evident in the Department of Guatemala. The last days of Ubico and the brief tenure of Ponce had witnessed the formation of various political organizations and associations whose members risked possible exile and imprisonment in order to express their opposition to those in power. The word and indeed the demand of the hour among these groups was change, the desire to bring about funda-

mental and basic social and political change that would affect all Guatemalans. The task of channeling all of this into some meaningful direction fell to the revolutionary junta of the revolution.

The three leaders of the junta who were to assume the initial task of restructuring Guatemala were those who had led the forces of opposition against Ubico and Ponce, Major Francisco Arana, Captain Jacobo Arbenz, and Gabriel Toriello.[2] Their foremost responsibility was to rule the republic until such time that a democratically elected president could take office and organize his own government for the conduct of the affairs of state. The junta's political support came from a conglomerate of civilian and military groups that had opposed Ubico, many of which were supporting the candidacy of Juan José Arévalo.

The junta's chief task as its three members envisioned it was not only to return order to the country but to erase all vestiges of ubiquismo and lay the foundations for a new regime. A political house-cleaning, they felt, was in order. Hours after the change in government it was announced by radio that one of the first steps would be to dissolve the National Assembly which for over a decade had been nothing but a rubber stamp to approve the actions of the dictator. Many of the officials who had been appointed by Ubico and who had vigorously supported him were dismissed from office. General elections for legislative representatives were then set for November 3, 4, and 5.[3] These first acts of the new government were enthusiastically received as popular

demonstrations in Guatemala City and Quezaltenango expressed support of the junta.[4]

To fill the various posts of responsibility in the interim government, the junta named several individuals accomplished in their vocations including Jorge Luís Arriola. Francisco Javier Arana was to serve as Minister of War. Active also in the new government were Julio César Méndez Montenegro and Eduardo E. Cáceres Lehnhoff, both destined to achieve political fame in later years.[5] Once the revolutionary junta had taken these initial steps, numerous others were to follow which would lay the foundation for a departure from the political experiences of the Ubico years and would promise a future political atmosphere dedicated, among other things, to the democratic process and constitutionality.[6]

Through a series of executive decrees dealing with a wide range of topics, many of which would later be approved by a democratically elected congress, the junta set the scene for the emergence of Juan José Arévalo. Indeed, many of the decisions reached and policies formulated by the junta would become integral parts of arevalismo. The seventeenth decree passed by the junta revealed more than any other single decree the general political point of view of the junta and the context of its desires for Guatemala. Declared as fundamental principles of the revolution of October 20 were the following: the decentralization of the executive wing of government and the separation of powers of

the executive, legislative and judicial branches; the abolition of the system of designates to the presidency and its substitution by the office of vice president; the prohibition of reelection; the right of the people to rebel against injustice imposed by an arbitrary government; the formulation of a new constitution; the complete reorganization of the military forces so that they might appropriately defend the national liberty and integrity of the constitution instead of the vested interests of a national caudillo; the professionalization of the military; and the democratic organization of local government.

It was the intention of the junta to encourage participation of Indians in all sectors of local government. This could only be achieved in the opinion of the junta if public institutions could be made accessible to the Indian sector as well as the Ladino population of the republic. Popular election of public officials, the autonomy of the University of San Carlos, obligatory suffrage, constitutional recognition of all democratically organized political parties and the basic need for administrative honesty and integrity in government circles were also considered primary principles of the new government.[7] With the popular election of local officials, the placing of restrictions upon the executive branch of government and legislation designed to separate the different branches of government, it was felt that the Indian could not be excluded.

Although a popularly elected congress would not be operative until December of 1945, the junta, nevertheless, passed several decrees of

paramount importance to all Guatemalans and some which referred particularly to Guatemala's Indian population. The seventh decree of the revolutionary junta sought to abolish one of the dictator's frequently used means of exploiting the Indians. In March of 1936 Ubico had forced into law a decree which made obligatory for a given period of time the use of Indian laborers in highway construction and as day laborers on fincas producing major crops such as coffee, sugar cane and bananas. Wishing to end this form of personal service, the junta abolished these decrees as being prejudicial, cruel, and ineffective. No longer would the finca owner favored by the government or the construction chief be able to appeal to the government for laborers and receive an army of Indian workers who would be harshly treated and only occasionally paid a just salary for their efforts.[8]

The revolutionary junta expressed a genuine concern for the traditionally disenfranchised Indian when it turned its attentions to the problem of illiteracy in decree 20. Considering illiteracy to be a basic contributing factor in the continuation of a repressive dictator and the separateness of the Indian, the junta called for the creation of a National Committee on Illiteracy. This agency would have a nationwide jurisdiction and would be charged with initiating and supervising programs designed to make as many Guatemalans as possible literate.[9] Only an informed and literate populace could bring democracy to Guatemala, related the decree, and only a literate Indian sector could be completely

and effectively incorporated. This point of view reflected what had been expressed at Pátzcuaro a few years earlier.[10]

The junta further directed its attentions to the Guatemalan agricultural worker who for centuries had not experienced the privilege of being able to negotiate effectively with his patron for a just salary or had been turned away from possible employment because of the importation of foreign workers. Decree 60 explicitly stated that all employers must employ a minimum of seventy-five per cent Guatemalans in their operation and that salaries received should be freely contracted for and should be reasonable to all parties concerned.[11] This would force landowners in regions near the Salvadorean border to hire Indian laborers rather than import mestizo workers from El Salvador. This decree would later be used as the legal precedent for abolishing the practice of continuing indebtedness, a means used since the colonial period for keeping a low salaried Indian work force.[12]

Decree seventy five specifically guaranteed to Guatemalan agricultural workers the right of protection from the national government against unfair or unjust exploitation from their employers. All labor contracts henceforth were to be made much more specific than in former years. They were to contain exact names, dates and places, an accurate description of the type of work to be involved, the salary to be received and the obligations of both parties concerned. No labor contract was to be valid for more than one year and it could be freely

terminated if such was the desire of the laborer.

With these decrees, the junta was making an effort to provide for a work contract that would not be weighed entirely in favor of the patron as had previously been the case. These decrees essentially provided the taking off point for a comprehensive Labor Code which would become operative during the Arévalo period. By insisting upon names, dates, and other specific information the junta hoped to end the irregular practices utilized by landowners in the past to maintain Indian workers in their labor force.

While the junta was turning out numerous decrees which in later years would be incorporated into major pieces of legislation, events of the moment turned public attention to another problem. During the last three months of 1944 the chief topic of public discussion relating to the Indians of Guatemala was the tragic event that had taken place in the small town of Patzicía during the last hours of the revolution. In an effort to gain some rural political support, Ponce's agents had promised to the Indians of Patzicía their own lands and freedom from the Ladinos in exchange for their active support. When Ponce's regime crumbled and the promises were not kept, the angered Indians openly attacked and murdered several Ladinos residing in the area. Only with the arrival of the police and military assistance from an adjacent municipality was the violence halted.[14]

When a judicial tribunal on November 30, 1944 sentenced eleven

Indians to death and twenty-three others to sentences of ten years in prison, a possible rural blood bath had become a matter of discussion in the press. A similar event had occurred in San Andrés Iztapa on October 21 which resulted in the death of Vincente Zamora, the aging jefe militar of the area. During November the junta entertained numerous requests from terrified citizens in these two areas for protection and economic assistance, the Indians in several adjacent localities refusing to work. They appeared to be waiting for the land that had been promised to them by Ponce's officials.[15] If nothing else, these events indicated that Ponce's tactics had failed miserably and that the road to integration would be a difficult one to traverse.

Writing some weeks later in El Imparcial, Rufino Guerra Cortave summarized the junta's feelings on the matter. He related that what was needed in Guatemala was an enlightened body of legislation designed to assist, educate and incorporate the Indian. With a program of this nature events such as those in Patzicía and San Andrés Iztapa would be avoided and the Indian could eventually be incorporated. Writing essentially along the same lines, Octavio Aguilar explained that the Indian must not continue to be the abandoned entity in Guatemala, but must be made part of the Guatemalan national experience.[16] Although Guerra Cortave, Octavio Aguilar, David Vela, and others were asking for immediate action by the junta in solving the problem of the Indian majority in Guatemala, the junta, it must be said, was forced by cir-

cumstances to avoid any extensive or wide-range programs for domestic social change. With presidential and congressional elections coming up in December and the fact that the junta was legally only a temporary governing body, no immediate or extensive action could be undertaken. This would await the person selected by the electorate to control the political destiny of the republic.

On December 8 the junta declared that December 17, 18 and 19 would be the dates set aside for the presidential elections while the legislative assembly set elections for deputies for December 28, 29 and 30. In the elections, which were honest for the first time in over a decade, Juan José Arévalo emerged with an easy victory with an early count giving him 250,260 votes to 20,749 for Adrían Recinos and some 20,000 votes for the other candidates.[17]

In his successful bid for the presidency, Arévalo had been supported by a number of political parties. Two of these, the Partido de la Revolución Guatemalteca and the Partido de Acción Revolucionaria would be utilized in later years to assist in carrying out and defining the new government's programs in the Departments and in the larger municipalities throughout the republic. His greatest support, however, came from the conglomerate of small political parties which had first become active prior to the revolution and, according to some, would later be absorbed into the Frente Popular Libertador and the Partido Renovación Nacional.[18] In having won over seventy-five per cent of

the popular vote and given the breadth of support that he had experienced from these various political parties, he appeared to have a mandate for change.

Who was Juan José Arévalo and what were his personal and political convictions? To the casual observer, these questions did not reflect any lack of sophistication in regard to Guatemalan politics. Arévalo seemed to have emerged from obscurity. He was born in September of 1904 in Taxisco, a village located on the southern portion of the Pacific coast. Although members of his family were relatively successful agriculturalists, his interests and talents took him to other fields. At an early age he demonstrated in school that he was an above average student. Encouraged to follow his intellectual interests, Arévalo continued his studies until he received a doctorate in education years later from the Universidad de la Plata in Argentina. Before going to Argentina he gained some fame in Guatemala as a professor in the Normal School system and later in the Ministry of Education.[19]

His constant appeals and suggestions for wide-sweeping reform of the Guatemalan educational system, however, were not well received by Ubico and his officials. By 1944 Arévalo had written several books on methods of teaching children how to read and was well known in educational circles not only in Guatemala but throughout Latin America as an accomplished author, thinker and educator. In his Escritos políticos he revealed a mild socialist outlook unfavorable to fascism

and the styles of caudillismo and personalismo that had plagued his native Guatemala for decades.[20] When Arévalo returned to Guatemala he was thus not completely an unknown. Prior to his election there had been substantial evidence to indicate that an Arévalo government would constitute a marked change from the stagnant waters of ubiquismo. Speaking by radio on February 15, 1945, Arévalo indicated that some basic changes would be undertaken, particularly in the areas of education, agriculture, public health, the land problem, personal rights and liberties, labor legislation, and Guatemalan life in general. He implied that the new government would dedicate a considerable portion of its efforts toward constructing a new Guatemala for all Guatemalans including the Indian majority.[21]

With his inauguration on March 15, 1945, Arévalo noted that he would not have to experience the initial frustration of putting many of his ideals and ideas into an operative political framework as this had been done already by the revolutionary junta which had ruled Guatemala from October 20, 1944.

Upon assuming power in October of 1944, the revolutionary junta and the range of political parties, groupings and organizations that had supported the revolution all seemed united in the desire to provide Guatemala with a new experience in participatory democracy and capitalism. But what of the domestic or internal hurdles and problems that must be resolved to realize such an ideal? The often impenetrable cultural

wall by which the Indian sought to preserve his heritage and his identity would have to be breached, at least in part, and the positive elements of the Indian past encouraged.

The Arevalistas soon discovered that the Indian-Ladino division in Guatemala did not constitute the only problem to be faced. The Indian's orientation was toward his particular village, his patria chica, rather than a nation about which he knew nothing. The Indian population of a given village or municipality could often be distinguished from another adjacent to it through its clothing, its dialect, and the membership and participation in a religious and political structure entirely its own.[22] With over twenty major Indian languages and dialects spoken throughout the republic and hundreds of villages, the challenge of integration was a very real one.[23]

Had Guatemala been primarily an urban republic, the new reforms intended by the revolutionary junta and later sometimes painfully implemented during the two revolutionary regimes to follow, could have been more successful. Guatemala in 1944, however, was a rural republic with eighty-seven per cent of its Indian population and sixty per cent of its Ladino population being engaged in agricultural pursuits.[24] To a large extent this involved subsistence farming, production of barely enough to exist and seldom a surplus. The agrarian question in Guatemala which would be vigorously attacked by the revolutionary governments lay at the very basis of the question of integration and

the aim of participatory democracy and an adjusted capitalism for all.

Involved also in the question was the fact that the majority of the farmers owned only a small percentage of the total arable land. Nearly seventy-five per cent of the population operated at a subsistance level in 1944 and the bulk of the arable land was owned by less than fifteen per cent of the population.[25] Latifundismo had developed in the nineteenth century and had expanded in the twentieth century to the extent that the Indian agriculturalist was relegated to farming plots of often poor quality and not large enough to support those depending on him. The government of the revolution was confronted with the difficulty of building an economic base upon which a new democracy could be founded.

The presence of a reasonably good system of transportation and communication would have been a vital advantage to the revolutionary governments in their desire to integrate Guatemala. However, no such system was available. In 1944 the highways in the republic were inadequate. This situation isolated many areas from any sustained contact with the rest of the republic, particularly during the rainy season. Poor telephone and telegraph systems further contributed to the dilemma, particularly in Indian areas such as Totonicapán, portions of El Quiché, and especially in El Petén. Guatemala's rugged physical geography discouraged interregional communication. The rigorous terrain of the central highlands made travel difficult under the best of

conditions but to travel from the highlands to the coastal areas was nearly impossible except by only a few routes because of the sharp drop in altitude from the central highlands to the Pacific coastal plain.

In 1944 rural Guatemala, particularly rural Indian Guatemala, seemed hopelessly caught in a syndrome of poverty and disadvantage. Medical facilities were virtually unknown in many areas of the republic as nearly ninety per cent of the nation's hospitals and physicians were located in the capital. Such facilities when available were generally understaffed, unsupplied, and inadequate to handle the medical needs of the surrounding area. Although facilities had been built during the Ubico years, few were completely operative. A range of infectious diseases continued to take their toll, the situation being complicated by the absence of systems of potable water and waste disposal. The problems of sanitation and public health were basic. The rural Indian population of Guatemala in 1944 was underfed, more often than not victimized by disease and tied to a system of subsistence agrarianism.[26] The Indian was also confronted with such factors as a high infant mortality rate, a low life expectancy and little chance of altering his circumstances.

Rural Guatemala was also illiterate. Indeed, a substantial portion of the republic's Indian population did not speak Spanish. Over one-half of the nation's population in 1944 could neither read nor write. In the predominantly Indian areas of the republic, illiteracy rates ran as

high as ninety per cent. In addition, over twenty major Indian languages and dialects were in current usage.[27]

The need of change and the cry for reform, however, were not limited to political circles only. After experiencing censorship and repression for over a decade, the newspapers began to urge change and point to the many inadequacies of the Guatemalan political and social reality. An editorial in January of 1945 pointed to what its author felt was the major economic difficulty facing rural Guatemala, the absence or lack of a technical orientation in agricultural production and the lack of funds to implement change. The editorialist recommended the development of a rural credit system whereby agricultural collectivism could be financed and the time-honored techniques employed by Indian agriculturalists altered to a more efficient and a more productive system.[28] This editorial appeared at a time when the junta had already begun a nationwide campaign aimed toward increasing the production levels of corn and beans and served to emphasize the real need for rural technology and the need to raise the standard of living of the rural Guatemalan Indian.[29]

A topic which received considerable attention in the press during the last months of 1944 and early in 1945 was that of illiteracy. Cognizant of the fact that illiteracy constituted a hurdle to be surpassed, David Vela and other journalists in this period expressed their views and plans for overcoming this problem. Early in 1945 Salvador R. Merios, writing in El Imparcial, explained his contention that the rural Guatemalan

Indian, unable to read or write Spanish, must be educated to do so without any sacrifice of his own cultural beliefs, customs or his aspirations. He recommended the establishment of a center of Indian studies where the differences between Ladinos and Indians could be minimized and the Guatemalan nationality maximized.

He urged also the establishment of special rural schools to teach agricultural methods to selected Indian young people. When these students returned to their villages, they would serve as catalysts for development. Rufino Guerra Cortave affirmed in June of 1945 that once the Indian sector of Guatemala became literate, the dreams of democratic institutions of the revolution would become a reality.[30] Daniel Tello affirmed also in June of 1945 what he felt would be the result of a literate Indian proletariat. The workers would be more capable of entering into the economic life of the country and making a positive contribution. This, he felt, would bring economic improvement to Guatemala as a whole and would be of benefit to all Guatemalans.

The desire for reform finally resulted in the writing and promulgation of a new constitution in late 1945. The largest share of the labor in formulating the constitution was accomplished by a committee of fifteen delegates headed by the president of the assembly, Jorge García Granados, grandson of the liberal hero Miguel García Granados of the 1871 revolution. His committee hammered out a good proportion of the major points of the constitution.[31] Certainly the most important influ-

ence during the meetings of the committee was Jorge García Granados. As a law student he had been active as a member of the Unionist Party which unseated Manuel Estrada Cabrera and later had served as a deputy during Chacón's administration. During Ubico's tenure in office he was first imprisoned and later permitted to leave his country in exile. His political persuasion was most nearly akin to that of the British Labor Party, this point of view being expressed on numerous occasions during the committee's often long deliberations.[32]

The influence of García Granados was such that several of his points of view appeared in the constitution. Feeling that the government should be the principal financial source for reform in the agricultural and industrial sectors of the economy, several articles in the constitution were formulated from this premise. Article ninety-three allowed the state to establish agricultural cooperatives fashioned after the "kibbutzim" in Israel.[33]

The constitution contained the fundamental expression and the legal precedence from which some of the most far-reaching reforms yet to appear in the Guatemalan political experience as a republic were to be formulated. The first article, seen by many arevalistas as the most fundamental issue coming out of the 1944 revolution, explained the principle that the state was a free and independent republic whose basic aim was to assure both Indians and non-Indians the enjoyment of liberty, culture, economic well-being and social justice. Around this

premise much of the legislation of the Arévalo years, often indigenista in character and direction, would be formulated. As in previous constitutions the basic rights of freedom of assembly, press, expression and association were guaranteed in the Constitution of 1945 but this time there appeared to be a genuine concern to extend these rights to Indians as well as Ladinos. The promise for the Indian of article one and the rights that were guaranteed was essentially that of citizenship equal to that of the Ladino for the first time.

More than any former constitution, the 1945 Constitution was concerned with individual rights. Conforming to the arevalista views toward the individual, particularly the worker, some thirty-four articles in the constitution restricted possible action by the state against the individual and enumerated the resources available in cases of government excesses or abuses. Discrimination based upon considerations of sex, group affiliation, race, color, religious beliefs or political ideas were prohibited. The Indian was to receive equal treatment before the law. Work was considered as both an individual right and a social obligation. The government was to assure each individual the right of an economically dignified pattern of existence with minimum wage laws, the right to ask for a labor contract, paid vacations, social security, and the allowance of government sponsored indemnization payments under certain circumstances. Forced work was to be disallowed. Vagrancy laws were not to be enforced. No longer would Indians be picked

up by local authorities on the often false charge that they were vagrants and then forced to work on fincas.

The constitution, besides dealing with the regulation of working conditions for women and children, promoted the thesis of equal pay for equal work. Indians were not to be paid less for doing the same task than Ladino workers.[34] Although much of the commentary in the constitution regarding workers would later be formulated and expanded into a comprehensive work code in 1947, the Codigo de Trabajo, the constitution established the legal precedence for this concern as well as affirming that a new responsibility of the government would be to end the economic misery of the Indian.

By explicitly as well as implicitly defining the role of the state in numerous arenas of activity, the 1945 Constitution paved the way for a marked departure from tradition. With the final promulgation of the constitution, the state became an active participant and, indeed, the focal point with its constitutional guarantees and statements of purpose for an entire body of indigenista legislation in such areas as labor, public health, rent, housing, education, national culture, literacy, the agrarian situation, and individual rights. Article seventy-nine declared the development of a national culture to be of fundamental interest to the state and a basic obligation of the state.

In the area of education, the role of the state, as defined in article 80, was to conserve and enrich the nation's culture, to improve, en-

large and supplement the educational facilities of the nation and to see to the nation's civic and moral development. Article 82 declared the illiteracy problem, largely an Indian one in Guatemala, to be an urgent social dilemma and one in need of quick and complete solution. The state was to dedicate itself to providing for teachers, literacy training and instruction for all in the fields of agriculture, industry and technical specialization. Of paramount interest to indigenistas was article 83 which declared the integration and the economic, social, and cultural improvement and development of Guatemala's Indians to be in the national interest and a national goal. Special laws, rules and dispositions were to be formulated to achieve this aim, such regulations at all times to reflect the special needs and cultural values of the specific Indian groups concerned.

Several specific articles also revealed the extent of indigenista influence in the Constituent Assembly. Article 67 specified that the government would initiate a construction program whereby inexpensive housing would be made available to Indian workers. Article 91 provided for the abolition of all non-productive latifundias regardless of size, and article 96 stipulated that at no time were Indian ejidal lands to be expropriated, sold, or divided by public or private authority. With these articles and many others, the 1945 Constitution, as no other similar official document before it, expressed a social concern for all Guatemalans and a commitment for action that was a sharp de-

parture from the past.[35]

Those who had been engaged in formulating the 1945 Constitution were essentially attempting to create the basis for a national law which would be operative for all Guatemalans regardless of their circumstances, whether Indian or Ladino, whether urban or rural, educated or illiterate. This primarily was the point of departure in 1945 from the political experiences of the past. The real task that confronted those writing the constitution and later those in the administrations of Arévalo and Arbenz was to define and implement a legal system, a work code, a cultural and educational program, and various legislative programs designed to integrate the Indian in terms and conditions broad enough to attract the support of all sectors of Guatemala's population. Thus with the 1945 Constitution and the arevalista programs which were to follow, the Indian was to be protected from discrimination, fraud, and exploitation and was to be given assistance and encouragement so that he might develop and eventually be integrated.

Although a National Indian Institute would be created which later in Arévalo's term of office would begin to provide a direction to national indigenista programs and although subsequent experiences would lend themselves to the formulation of wiser policies and procedures, such information and first-hand experience was not available at the beginning of Arévalo's presidency. The first few months of arevalismo amounted to a flurry of legislative activity designed to initiate a move-

ment toward change. In one respect the scene was being set for later developments. A portion of this early legislation sought to alter the administrative and legislative foundations that had been utilized under Jorge Ubico. For example, decree 58 passed by the new assembly ended the military's supervision of the country's rural water, electrical and sanitary services as well as its control over the railway system, these tasks being assumed by civilian authorities and organizations within the government.[36]

Passed at approximately the same time was the law of economic emergency which established a basis for price controls in certain sectors of the economy. Reform, it was felt, could not long proceed with inflationary conditions prevailing. Prices on items of necessity and on numerous consumer goods such as clothing, shoes, drugs, medicines, construction materials, machinery, school supplies, books, agricultural supplies and public utilities were to be regulated.[37] Prices for livestock and groceries were to remain at fixed rates as were items needed for irrigation and fertilization of crops. It was hoped that with the stabilization of prices, improvements in production levels in the various phases of agriculture could be achieved and inflation halted.

Within the context of this same law, the arevalistas expressed their goals for Guatemalan agriculture, these being the encouragement of the construction of silos, granaries, and seed dispensaries, the reporting of climatological information, the support of studies of animal

pathology, the establishment of experimental stations, the organization of agricultural expositions and regional fairs, the promotion of associations of farmers and ranchers, and the organization of a corps of sanitation officials to inspect livestock. The law also urged the formation of agricultural committees which, if operative, could be the instrument for making accessible to rural agriculturalists information on crop rotation, harvesting, new fertilizers, and the like. Decree number 90 not only contained specific guidelines to be followed in the control of prices but further expressed several goals of the new government.[38]

It was hoped that by controlling prices on groceries in particular that the meager income of Guatemala's Indian population would not be further reduced as they purchased foodstuffs they could not raise themselves. With the new price controls the Indian agriculturalists were to be guaranteed a minimum for their agricultural products. This section of the legislation, however, never became effective as Indian vendors continued to sell portions of their crops to Ladino businessmen and large Ladino landowners at reduced prices.[39]

Evidence that the Arévalo regime would undertake a new orientation toward government and its responsibilities could be seen with the new duties allocated to the Minister of Economy and Labor and the Minister of Education. As on former occasions, the Minister of Economy and Labor was charged with the development and expansion of the national

wealth in its various facets and, in general, modernization. Beyond this, however, the minister was to see to the expansion of credit facilities for the specific development of agriculture, industry, and small businesses. Credit facilities for cooperative ventures were to receive special consideration, especially those Indian farmers wishing to form cooperatives. The minister was further charged with the regulation of prices, the registration and control of large industries, the discouragement and suppression of monopolies, the regulation and development of potable water systems, and the supervision of all labor laws, particularly those dealing with relationships between patrones and Indian employees. The minister was further to supervise the operation and improvement of all nationally owned fincas, the so-called fincas nacionales.[40] These were to be improved in both the quality and quantity of goods produced. The Minister of Economy and Labor was thus a key position in the government's plans to develop rural Guatemala and would become a position that would focus upon the needs of the republic's Indian laborers.

To the Minister of Public Education fell the responsibilities that would be of fundamental importance in Arévalo's overall approach to the nationalization and democratization of Guatemala. In addition to the supervision of all public primary and secondary schools, the minister was also to direct a national campaign against illiteracy and be responsible for the expansion of the nation's school system with parti-

cular attention to normal schools, vocational and trade schools and evening schools. Indians particularly were to be encouraged to attend the vocational and trade schools. The incorporation of the Indian population into the national framework at least to the extent that this would involve education was to be his direct responsibility. The nation's school systems were to be geared to the acceptance of Indian students, both children and adults. Rural schools were to be organized by the minister in which Spanish, agricultural technology, rural economics, public health, and personal hygiene would be the subjects emphasized. Libraries were to be expanded and created throughout the republic and literary clubs and associations, so long disallowed by Ubico, were encouraged to reform themselves and become active again.

The ideal of a national culture which would embrace all Guatemalans, whether Indian or Ladino, was to be promoted through the use of movies, the theatre, radio, the organization of conferences and congresses, and whatever other means deemed advantageous by the minister. The de-emphasizing of diversity and the promotion of a concept of nationality for all were to be fundamental goals in this program. Extensive in their ranges of responsibilities, the Minister of Public Education and the Minister of Economy and Labor were to be two central figures in Arévalo's plans to incorporate and integrate the Indians of Guatemala.[41]

The revolutionary junta, while engaging in a whirlwind of political activity and legislative commitments, addressed its attention to the deplorable conditions and circumstances facing the Guatemalan worker. The junta had considered the plight of the worker to be one of the most serious problems facing Guatemala as a nation. The new assembly was quick to appreciate this concern and respond with positive action, particularly in reference to the Indian worker. Although within two years a comprehensive labor code would be passed as one of the cornerstones of arevalismo, the new assembly rapidly committed itself to an active labor policy, the early decrees of which would influence to a considerable extent the Labor Code of 1947.

Considering that labor contracts in Guatemala during the Ubico era were more often than not disadvantageous to the workers and indeed exploitative, the assembly in passing decree 102 took a step toward completely altering this situation. The assembly hoped to open the path to a new era in laborer-employee relationships. Contracts could be either individual or collective with copies to be filled or presented to the worker or workers concerned, to the nearest municipality and to the Dirección General del Trabajo. The contracts were to be specific in naming the date that they were concluded and the place where the work was to be completed.

Required in the contracts was the complete identification of all parties involved, a precise determination of the type of work to be

performed, the salary to be paid, an exact determination of the work period, and if the laborers were to be employed on a finca, such finca was to be named with substitutions being disallowed. This was designed to halt the exploitative practice of extending the obligations of Indian workers and transporting them from one finca to another without their formal consent. Should a worker not complete the stipulated number of hours, he was to satisfy this obligation in the next work period, generally the next harvesting or planting time. For those who needed to travel to the work site, the employer was to pay the laborer a specified amount for each day spent on the road. The contract could be terminated by either party if the other failed in his obligations. This provided the Indian finca worker with a latitude of choice not previously experienced. Although these stipulations in themselves were inadequate, given the state of the labor situation in Guatemala, they at least indicated the direction the Arévalo government would take toward protecting the workers and their rights in the formulation of labor agreements. The labor contracts of the Ubico period which seldom made direct mention of workers' rights were declared void.[42]

Prior to the implementation of the Work Code in 1947, the assembly saw fit with decree 200 to protect further the laborer from unfair exploitation. The decree made the employer liable for payment of all wages agreed upon and liable for indemnization payments if he was guilty of mistreatment of his employees. Under this decree all

labor contracts could be terminated by an eight-day notice under given circumstances such as the laborer not showing up for work, activity amounting to a breach of morality on either signee's part, the poor treatment of the worker by the employer or his representatives, disobedience to the extent that obligations were not fulfilled, and reasons which might be judged by a judicial official as being unfair or imprudent as far as the worker was concerned. Laborers under decree 200 could receive indemnization payments from their employers if the latter failed to pay the agreed upon salary, subjected his workers to cruel punishment, or forced his workers to complete tasks not enumerated in the contract. Any means utilized by the employer to implant a system of debt peonage was illegal. Employers deciding to mechanize their agricultural workers were to pay such individuals a sum equivalent to three months salary to cover the costs of relocation.

Decree 200 also enumerated the conditions under which a worker might be immediately relieved of his duties, these being gross negligence, acts of violence against the patron or his property, or more than three absences in a month without just cause or the permission of the employer. A laborer reporting to work under the influence of alcohol or drugs could be immediately terminated. Decree 200 also stipulated that for every six days of work, a day of rest with full pay was to be authorized. Decrees 102 and 200 sought to regulate the relationships between employers and workers and bring to an end a long

list of unfair practices so long experienced by the workers of Guatemala.

Decree 146 created the Department of Cooperative Development whose responsibilities were to be extensive. Fundamental to the creation of this department were several assumptions, these being that the government had the responsibility of encouraging the development of rural credit, seeing to the organization of cooperative enterprises which would stimulate the development of unused and unoccupied lands and ejidal holdings, and providing the financial support necessary for the success of such cooperative undertakings. Antonio Goubaud Carrera and others who would later become active in the Instituto Indígenista Guatemalteca believed that such cooperatives would be the mechanism for incorporating the Indian village economy into the national economy.

The department, which administratively would be a part of the Crédito Hipotecario Nacional, was to create and promote the establishment of cooperatives, especially those of production, consumption and credit. One of the main aims was the organized exploitation of vacant or uncultivated lands. The department was to provide economic and technical assistance to these cooperatives once established and to diffuse technical information and techniques designed to improve the standard of living throughout the republic. It was scheduled to begin operation with a budget of 200,000 quetzales and was to function apart from other

credit facilities. The new department was to be directed by an administrative body with one of its three members being the Minister of Economy and Labor.

The department, because of the range of needs in the republic and the scarcity of funds, was to make available more than twenty per cent of the total capital needed to bring into being and operate a cooperative. The balance was to be submitted by the membership. Beyond this the department was to provide individual cooperatives with loans of equipment, seeds, agricultural machinery, and technical assistance whenever possible, guarantee the financial base of the cooperatives and the obligations of them toward their members, and operate as a bank of deposit for all such cooperatives. To facilitate the cooperative movement, decree 173 made it unlawful for public officials to purchase or lease untilled public lands for private gain, a practice that had been widespread during the Ubico era. This would leave such land open for use by landless Indian farmers.

With the Department of Cooperative Development launched as a fully constituted legal entity, it was felt by the junta and many arevalistas that the chance for the development of rural Guatemala was at hand. No longer would the Indian agriculturalists be forced to sacrifice whatever minor profit they had hoped for because of the necessity to accept poor market prices; to pay high transport costs and to agree to exhorbitant rents payable in kind. By group effort it was felt that the rural

economic picture could be altered to the benefit of all.[44]

Although several decrees passed by the revolutionary junta had sought to regulate labor conditions in Guatemala, it was obvious about the time of Arévalo's inauguration that further provisional legislation was needed to regulate this phase of the nation's economic picture before a comprehensive labor code could be adopted. A temporary labor law or, more specifically, the "Ley provisional de sindicatización," decree 223, attempted to provide directions and guidelines for the solution of problems and conflicts arising between workers and their employers. This decree allowed the formation of sindicatos which were defined as organizations or unions of laborers engaged in a given trade or related activities who had banded together in an effort to better represent and protect their interests in labor-management negotiations.

Recognized as a basic right in decree 223 was the right of workers to form a union freely without overt opposition or repression from the employer. Under this decree sindicatos could be formed by twenty or more members engaged in either industry or agriculture at the same or related tasks, the organization so formed having the power and legal position to negotiate matters with the employer of mutual interest to members of the sindicato involved. Only Guatemalan citizens could become officers in the sindicatos and all such organizations were to submit their charters and membership lists to the Department of

Economy and Labor for approval.[45]

Decree 223 specified that all policy decisions must be decided upon by a majority vote of its members, and its conduct of affairs must be accomplished by a junta whose members would be democratically voted upon every two years. It was not to intervene in any way in religious questions and it must keep the Department of Economy and Labor informed at all times of its decisions and any change in status. Any sindicato which opted to utilize unfairly its juridic character to the disadvantage of an employer would be fined or suspended or both. With governmental encouragement and support of the formation of sindicatos as well as its encouragement of cooperatives, a new era in labor's relationships with employers seemed to promise a brighter future for Indians. However, it was not until the close of the Arévalo administration that any significant unionization of Indian agriculturalists was to be noted.

An impressive number of decrees, both legislative and executive in character, that had been passed by the revolutionary junta were approved by the new assembly and supported by Arévalo even prior to his official assumption of the presidency. Late in 1945 under Arévalo's urgings, the Ministry of Agriculture was completely reorganized and expanded in the belief that increased governmental activity in this sector would encourage and facilitate development as well as integration of the Indians at the rural level. Within this expansion program the Instituto Apropecuario Nacional was created to operate in conjunction

with the United States Department of Agriculture in the conduct of investigations and experiments of various types aimed toward bringing modern techniques to Guatemalan agriculture.[47]

The Institute's first official act was to organize an agricultural fair in Guatemala City where agricultural products throughout the republic were displayed and new techniques demonstrated and explained. The Instituto also began a series of experiments on the finca Chocola.[48] Intended to be an integral part of this expansion program was the Departamento de Extensión Agrícola. The task of this organization was to send to the various regions of the republic agricultural agents or experts who were to report to the Ministry of Agriculture any particular problems commonly found in their respective areas of activity such as diseases affecting crop yields, problems encountered in the harvesting and planting of crops, climatic difficulties and domestic animal diseases. They were to make recommendations that if undertaken would hopefully result in higher production rates for Indian farmers particularly. These agents were asked to encourage cooperativism wherever such a movement could be of benefit to the agriculturalists in a given area. The agents were also to encourage the use of fertilizers, the construction of irrigation systems, the establishment of credit facilities, and assist in improving the marketing of agricultural products. The departments which received the most attention were the Indian departments.[49]

In an effort to provide technical information whenever possible, several administrative sections were created within the Department of Agricultural Extension which corresponded to the major crops produced in the republic such as the coffee group and the sugar cane group. Besides those devoted to coffee and sugar cane, other sections would be concerned with cereals, fruit production, products used in industry and agricultural mechanization.

Beyond this, however, Arévalo urged and eventually completed the reorganization of virtually every section of the Ministry of Agriculture. Several new sections were implemented including those of rural engineering, irrigation, water supplies and grains. Every effort was made to contact the rural agriculturalist with the first major effort being a regional meeting held in Escuintla from May 27 to June 2, 1945.[50] The organization of agricultural clubs which would operate in conjunction with the rural school system were planned. The renovation of Guatemalan agriculture as well as the incorporation of the distressed rural agriculturalist was Arévalo's motive. Through these agricultural clubs operating in cooperation with rural schools, it was felt that the needs of the Indian agriculturalist could be identified and dealt with in such a way that integration could eventually become a reality.

The revolutionary junta had no sooner tasted the sweetness of success over ubiquismo in October of 1944 when it initiated a wide range of activities dedicated largely toward changing Guatemala and elements

in the life-style of many of its inhabitants. To a large extent these legislative pronouncements and decrees were incorporated into Arévalo's programs for the development of Guatemala. The accomplishments of these first months and, indeed, the first year after the defeat of Ubico were impressive. A new constitution had been formulated, new labor legislation was compiled, official support of cooperatives and sindicatos could be noted, a new approach to education had been expressed, and it appeared that an attempt would be made to tackle the ever existing problems of poor housing, disease, low agricultural production, unpotable water, poor systems of transportation and communication, agrarian reform, and the social crisis facing the republic. To deal with these problems and create a Guatemala that would embrace all of its citizens and be responsible to the needs of all of its citizens was Arévalo's goal and he would take decisive steps, nationwide in their scope, which would have marked effects in the years to follow.

## NOTES

## CHAPTER V

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# CHAPTER VI

# THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF GUATEMALAN INDIGENISMO

In addition to the birth of the Interamerican Indianist Institute, an important result of the Pátzcuaro convention was the proposition that in each Latin American republic an Indian Institute should be created. The delegates from Guatemala who had attended the convention in an unofficial capacity were not in a position to commit their country to such an agreement. Jorge Ubico was not inclined to such a commitment. The dictator of a country whose population was over fifty per cent Indian only offered a statement which concluded that the convention had satisfied humanitarian aspirations and that the creation of the Institute would be beneficial to the moral and cultural elevation of the Indian masses throughout the hemisphere. The ubiquista position on the entire Indian question was best expressed by the Minister of Education while attending a conference of educators in Panama City. He reiterated that Guatemala did not have an Indian problem.[1]

In 1944 the Society of Geography and History in Guatemala City met and suggested to officials in the Ministry of Education that an Indian institute should be organized with the aim of studying the Indian problem in the country and cooperating with the Instituto Indigenista Inter-

americano and other agencies to arrive at solutions to the Indian problem. The political uncertainties of the moment, however, precluded any serious consideration of this proposal.[2]

Under the revolutionary regime, a different attitude toward the Indians and the problems confronting them was to be noted at the outset. The proposal of the Society of Geography and History was treated seriously by the new Minister of Education, Manuel Galich. In an effort to acquire a more exact insight into the entire problem, Manuel Galich by means of the newly created Technical Council on National Education convened a conference of Indian school teachers in Cobán in April of 1945.[3] Invited to the conference were some seventy-five Indian school teachers from over twenty-one different municipalities throughout the republic.

In addition to Galich, officials from several governmental agencies were in attendance including the Ministry of Public Health, the Ministry of Public Works and Communication, the Ministry of Economy and Labor, and the Ministry of Agriculture. Also attending were Antonio Goubaud Carrera, David Vela and William J. Griffith representing the Interamerican Educational Foundation.[4] Teachers were present from the predominantly Indian areas of Guatemala including the Departments of Chimaltenango, Totonicapán, Sololá, Suchitepéquez, and Alta Verapaz. The conference, which lasted three days, considered a variety of topics relating to the Indian problem such as public services, pub-

lic health, rural economy, the future rural school, the reform of the Guatemalan educational system, and the problem of illiteracy. Coming out of the convention were a series of resolutions, proposals and recommendations for the Arévalo government to consider.[5]

In the sphere of economic considerations, the convention recommended that the state take an active and decisive role in the solution of the many problems confronting the Indians. As a group they should be made aware of improved agricultural techniques and encouraged to adopt such procedures through educational programs. As urged by one of the resolutions of the convention, the Indian should be encouraged and taught to conserve his particular life style. The responsibilities of the government as far as the Indian was concerned were seen ideally as being extensive as they were deemed fundamental to the entire Guatemalan experience. One resolution urged the government to formulate a model nutritional diet for each region of the republic that would be adaptable to local customs and needs. Especially recommended was the establishment of agricultural experimental stations in the Indian zones of the republic and the free distribution of seeds to Indian agriculturalists. The inadequacy of rural housing in Guatemala was apparently recognized by the majority of those attending the gathering. They suggested a government study in each climatic zone of the republic to determine which type of housing unit would best suit the needs of the locality.[6]

In the area of public health numerous recommendations were forthcoming. Recognizing that rural Guatemala was in many senses of the word unhealthy, the convention resolved that the government should first review the problem of disease throughout the republic and determine the factors that facilitated the spread of disease. The conference participants urged the construction of aqueducts for flood control, public baths, public laundry facilities, sewage and waste disposal systems and, particularly, potable water systems. One of the proposals argued that personal health should be a topic given primary emphasis in the public schools and that rest rooms should be made available in public areas, particularly in markets as well as in private homes. The delegates advised also a nationwide campaign against alcoholism.[7]

The topic receiving the greatest degree of attention at the convention was the state of education in rural Guatemala. Essentially what the delegates felt was needed was a rebirth of rural education. As the material condition of the country's schools could not be considered adequate by any standard of evaluation, the maestros indígenas proposed that the Arévalo government undertake an extensive rebuilding program, the repair of schools where this was feasible, or the construction of new schools. Better educational materials were needed, the conferees noted. To be established were evening schools for adults and a normal school designed to prepare those wishing to become rural school teachers. Schools located on fincas which traditionally had been poor in quality

and often not functional were to be upgraded and placed under the strict supervision of the Ministry of Public Education. It was recommended that each school have its own plot of land for the purpose of teaching agriculture and that all rural schools should channel their instructional programs to fit the needs of the area in which they were located, this recalling recommendations made at the Pátzcuaro convention. Lastly, scholarships should be granted to those of proven ability who wished to further their education or those wishing to become school teachers, particularly rural school teachers.[8]

The conference of Indian school teachers did not adjourn until one of the most serious difficulties facing Guatemala's Indians had been considered. Illiteracy for decades had been a major obstacle to social and economic development in Guatemala. The inability of over seventy-five per cent of the population to either read or write Spanish was seen as a major factor in explaining the backwardness of this Central American republic.[9] The conferees advised the development of a national campaign to teach illiterates how to read, write, and speak Spanish as well as to read and write whatever native language they commonly used. Instruction in the native tongue was to take place prior to any literacy training in Spanish. It was recommended that a congress of linguists be summoned to adopt alphabets using Spanish sounds for the major Indian languages in Guatemala.[10] These recommendations which were presented to the government for consideration constituted the first at-

tempt in many decades to visualize and enunciate in detail the plight of the Indian in Guatemala. These recommendations and proposals came at a time when the Arévalo government favored a new and revolutionary approach to the Indian problem.

Feeling that the Indian problem should receive a detailed and sustained consideration by a governmental body designed solely for that purpose, it was urged at Cobán that an Indian Institute be organized. The Arévalo government responded by creating the Instituto Indígenista Guatemalteca by executive decree on August 28, 1945.[11] The Institute was authorized to conserve and protect the Indian cultures of Guatemala and to raise the economic, social and cultural levels of these groups. Article 137 of the 1945 Constitution which allowed for the creation of institutions to be devoted to the Indian problem was the constitutional base for the founding of the Institute. The Guatemalan ambassador in Mexico City was instructed by his government to sign the act of Pátzcuaro and affiliate the Instituto Indígenista Nacional with the Instituto Indígenista Interamericano. This was completed and the action was ratified by the Guatemalan Assembly on August 10, 1946.[12]

Although the Instituto Indígenista Nacional was given official status by the Guatemalan Assembly in August of 1946, its formal inauguration did not occur until September 26. In ceremonies held at the University of San Carlos, Manuel Galich, the Minister of Public Education, described the future role of the Instituto Indígenista. Galich affirmed that

the creation of the Instituto Indígenista was a direct result of the 1944 Revolution. The Instituto, he explained, was humanistic in its orientation and, as an official organ of the government, would provide yet another avenue to review national politics and national values and in this case Guatemala's number one social problem. As Galich discussed the approach of disdain and negation so long shown to the Indians by earlier governments, he emphasized that this would be replaced by a technical, scientific and investigative approach which was basically oriented toward reform and was above all sincere. The repression and negligence of the Ubico years would be replaced by a democratic and responsible government fully dedicated to indigenismo. The Institute, among its assignments, was to operate in the upcoming literacy campaigns, illiteracy being considered by Galich as the country's most serious social problem.[13]

Appointed as director of the newly created Instituto, Lic. Antonio Goubaud Carrera then addressed the gathering at the inauguration ceremonies and indicated the path the new Instituto would follow in its future activities. He began by explaining that the meaning of indigenismo had changed since the colonial period. In the Spanish era indigenismo would have meant protection of the Indians in the manner demanded so often by Bartolomé de Las Casas and in the nineteenth century it would only have meant indianismo or an intellectual interest in the Indian question, particularly theoretical considerations. Indigenismo in the

twentieth century, said Goubaud Carrera, meant a scholarly interest in the Indians but not as they were, but rather as they are or may be and how they relate to western culture and western civilization.[14] For others as well as Goubaud Carrera, indigenismo reflected and embodied the entire social and economic problem of the Indian.

Goubaud Carrera affirmed that one of the chief goals of the Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca would be to work toward establishing a sense of national unity among the native groups of the republic. This, he asserted, would not be achieved without major difficulties. Some twenty-one major Indian languages and dialects were spoken throughout the republic. The various Indian groups often possessed quite different social constructs, value systems, economic orientations, family systems, political and religious organizations, and social practices. These differences, explained Goubaud Carrera, have created through generations a feeling of local solidarity or a patria chica point of view which becomes manifested in every sector of the Indian's pattern of life.[15]

In addressing himself to the question as well as the problem of the cultural diversity of Guatemala, Goubaud Carrera explained that in order to synthesize this diversity, one must formulate a series of questions such as how many Guatemalans speak the national language, how many exhibit Ladino rather than Indian customs, who is an Indian and who is not, and numerous others. These are questions, he affirmed, which need to be answered before any progress toward solving the problems

of the Indian can be recorded. In closing Goubaud Carrera said that the Institute's primary goals would be that of studying the problems facing the Indians and making recommendations to appropriate governmental officials and carrying out practical programs designed to create a cultural homogeneity in Guatemala and to integrate the Indian sectors.[16]

Given this enthusiastic launching, the Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca began its activities with three very talented individuals: Antonio Goubaud Carrera as director, Alberto Arreaga as secretary and Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet as a technical investigator. Quite active in his dedication to indigenismo was Antonio Goubaud Carrera. Trained in anthropology at the University of Chicago, he developed an interest in the Indian populations of the Americas early in his academic career. His master's thesis, which concerned nutrition in two Spanish-American communities in New Mexico, attracted the financial support of the Carnegie Institute and launched his career as an anthropologist. A subsequent study of nutrition in Guatemala, conducted between 1943 and 1945, firmly established him as an anthropologist as well as cementing the support of the Carnegie Institute in efforts to improve the nutrition of Guatemala's Indians.[17] Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet joined the Institute after having served for a time as a rural school teacher.

On the Advisory Council of the Institute were some individuals whose dedication to indigenismo had been affirmed prior to the 1944 Revolution. David Vela, who had represented Guatemala unofficially at the Pátzcuaro

Convention, was one of the more articulate spokesmen of indigenismo in Guatemala. As a member of the Society of Geography and History as well as being a respected journalist and newspaper editor, he was convinced that indigenismo was fundamentally a just cause. Under his direction the newspaper El Imparcial during the Poncista regime had actively promoted indigenismo through its editorials and had supported the aims of the Interamerican Indianist Institute. Prior to the emergence of Arévalo, the Society of Geography and History with his encouragement had become interested in the Indian problem and in time became a center for the exchange of ideas on the topic. Francisco Quintana, representing the Asociación General de Agricultura, was interested in improving the productive capabilities of the Indian agriculturalists and had voiced this contention on several occasions. Luciano Tahay of the Ministry of Public Education had urged for some time the complete restructuring of ubiquista educational policies and programs and was especially interested in the reform of rural education.

Taken as a group the Advisory Council represented a body of individuals interested in improving the lot of the Indian and working to achieve his integration. The emphasis upon integration was reflective of the influence of the Pátzcuaro convention where Lázaro Cárdenas, Luís Chávez Orozco, and other Mexican indigenistas particularly had emphasized the need for the integration of the Indian sector. This point of view was encouraged by the Interamerican Indigenista Institute in its communications

with the Instituto Indigenista Guatemalteca and by David Vela who was an influencial exponent of this point of view.[18]

To acquaint the general public both in Guatemala and abroad with the Institute's activities and to publicize the urgency of the Indian problem in Guatemala, a journal was established that would be published three times yearly and entitled the Boletín del Instituto Indigenista Nacional Guatemalteco. The editor of the journal was to be the director of the Institute. The goal of the journal as far as Antonio Goubaud Carrera was concerned was to publish first a listing of activities and accomplishments of the Institute, publish letters from prominent Indianists but primarily to publish scholarly articles on Guatemala's Indians, particularly those that would point to a particular facet of the Indian problem. Intended to be diverse in its approach, the new journal sought to treat as many facets of the Indian problem as possible and maintain a high scholarly professional standard.[19]

On October 23, 1946 the aims of the Instituto Indigenista were officially recognized and legislatively approved by the Arévalo government. Its chief function was to be the initiating and supervising of scientific investigations which would have a direct relationship or correlation with the Indian problem. The Instituto was to operate as a consultative body for other branches of the Guatemalan government and was to cooperate with international organizations whose aims or interests were similar, particularly the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.[20] It was to collect

and prepare bibliographical material relating to the Indian problem and to organize a special library to house documents and source materials dealing with the Indians of the Americas. One of the most important duties of the Institute was that of proposing to the Guatemalan government means of improving the cultural, social and economic life of the Guatemalan Indian and incorporating him into the Guatemalan nation as a whole. At this point the government authorized the Instituto to hire five more field investigators and some office personnel. The budget assigned for the Instituto's first year of operation was $13,332 quetzales, this sum to include all salaries and expenditures.[21]

Where was the Instituto to begin its operations? What would their first assignment be? An organization had been created to assist in the goal of integrating the Guatemalan Indians, but before such a program could be begun, numerous plans of action had to be formulated. Certainly a major difficulty facing the newly created Institute was the lack of technical data and information about the Indians themselves. In 1946 few indeed were the studies that had attempted any scientific or at best an in-depth consideration of this sector of Guatemala's population. Very little was known of the customs, habits, traditions, religious beliefs and social organizations of the various Indian groups in Guatemala. Beyond this, the Institute, before it could begin meaningful studies, had to develop a working definition of indigenismo.[22]

An initial problem was that of distinguishing between an Indian and

a non-Indian. The formulation of a set of standards by which Indians could be identified was essential in that one of the Institute's first tasks was to be a statistical compilation of the Indian population of the republic. In countries such as the United States the Indian constituted a small minority and could easily be identified by his physical characteristics from the rest of the population. In Guatemala, however, one's physical characteristics could not be used as a guide for classification as many Ladinos exhibited the same physical traits as Indians.[23] A new means of classification, therefore, was needed.

The guidelines adopted eventually by the Instituto Indígenista in Guatemala were basically those that had been proposed by the Instituto Indígenista Interamericano. Rather than considerations of race or cultural characteristics, scholars such as Oscar Lewis and Ernest Maes and others recommended a system which would reflect the actual state of the Indian. For consideration, they suggested such factors as economic deficiency, the lack of social and economic necessities, the lack of sophisticated techniques to solve particular problems, and the presence of certain social and cultural adaptations were fundamental. Those exhibiting the greatest lack of basic necessities and showing the most pronounced deficiencies would generally be the Indians.[24] The Instituto later adopted several of the propositions posed by Lewis and Maes. A working definition of the Indian would also have to take into account the factor of language. Important also would be whether or not a given in-

dividual belonged to a community where the material and spiritual aspects of the cultural whole in the community were predominantly native rather than European.

Although a governmental Instituto might impose a set of rules from which one could arrive at a definition, what was of primary importance was public opinion in rural Guatemala on this topic. Would an Indian in Sololá be so classified in another community or area of the republic? To determine local feelings on this matter, the Instituto sent out a questionnaire to the directors of both urban and rural schools throughout the republic. It asked a variety of questions such as whether or not a person was necessarily an Indian if he wore Indian clothing and spoke an Indian language.

The results obtained from the questionnaires indicated that out of 881 responses analyzed from 223 municipios throughout the republic, an Indian was so considered first, if he spoke an Indian language and secondly if he exhibited Indian customs, and lastly if he spoke Spanish with a marked accent. The results obtained indicated that some of the criteria were more important in one department than in another. However, the primary consideration in all departments was the ability to speak an Indian language fluently. The most important find from this study was simply that there was not a single nation-wide criteria for determining one's identity as an Indian. What was adopted finally by the Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca reflected several of

these characteristics.[25] The criteria to be used were language, one's last name, dress, general customs and cultural practices, and general physical aspects.

Using the information gained from the questionnaire and applying it to the 1940 census, it was determined that out of a total population of 3,283,000 persons, fifty-five per cent were Indians. Of the total Indian population, 24.2 per cent spoke the Quiché language, 10.7 per cent spoke Mam, 9.6 per cent Pocomam, 1.0 per cent Chol, and 0.3 per cent spoke a scattering of other Indian languages and linguistic variants. Of the group 9.6 per cent were considered acculturated by the census standards but were counted as Indians by the new criteria.[26] The statistics obtained from the Institute's efforts represented the first reasonably accurate assessment of the republic's Indian population linguistically speaking. Based upon these findings the Arévalo government would begin the literacy programs with the Quiché speaking Indian groups.

During the first two years of activity, the Instituto Indígenista Nacional began several programs and accomplished a variety of tasks, one of which was a project concerning the Indian languages of the republic. The Ministry of Education, wishing to establish a nationwide literacy program based upon solid foundations, assigned to the Instituto Indígenista the task of reviewing and identifying the various Indian languages utilized in the republic. It was intended that the Indian languages would be used to teach literacy, that is the Indians would become literate in their own

language before becoming literate in Spanish. Without a reasonably accurate idea of the geographical distribution of these various languages, any national literacy program would be cursory and ineffective at best. The goal of the Institute's undertaking was to establish which languages were in use in the many municipios of the republic and determine whether or not there were linguistic zones in the nation.

In this effort the Instituto Indigenista was aided to some degree by earlier studies of a similar nature. Otto Stoll in 1884 had prepared a linguistic map of the republic with a detailed study of the languages and dialects evident in the northern sector of the Department of Huehuetenango. Other scholars had been active in the twentieth century. Linguistic studies had been undertaken by Cyrus Thomas and John R. Swanson in 1911 and later by William Gates in 1920, both of these efforts having been published in Spanish in 1932 by J. Antonio Villacorta C. in his edition of Memorial de Tecpán-Atitlán. Karl Sapper had also published a linguistic map of the Verapaz region and had suggested the use of Spanish vowels and consonants in creating alphabets for the Indian languages. Beyone these studies there was available to the Institute the scholarly works of the colonial period such as those by García de Palacios in 1576, Fuentes y Guzmán in 1690, Jiménez in 1720 and Juarros in 1808.[27]

In formulating its list and classification of the languages and dialects in current usage, the Institute relied heavily upon the basic classification system of Jiménez Moreno y Mendizábal which had been completed

in 1937. The native tongues encountered were divided eventually into five main groups according to their similarities and differences. To the Quiché groups belonged the Quiché, Cakchiquel, Tzutujil and Uspanteca languages. To the Mam group belonged Aguateca, Jacalteca, Kanjobal, Chuj, and Ixil. Comprising the Pocomam group were Kekchi, Pocomchi, Pocomam Oriental, and Pocomam Central. The other two groups, Chol and Caribe were less well known and found only in a few scattered villages in the republic.

Once these divisions had been established, investigations were undertaken in most of the major municipios in each department of the republic to determine more precisely the distribution geographically of these languages and whatever dialects that might be encountered. In the Departments of Chimaltenango, Sacatepéquez, and Guatemala, the predominant native tongue was Cakchiquel with the exceptions of Mixco and Chinantla in the department of Guatemala where Pocomam Central was dominant. In the Department of Escuintla the chief languages in evidence were Cakchiquel and Pocomam Central while in the Department of Sololá several languages were to be noted, the main ones being Cakchiquel, Quiché, and Tzutuhil. In the Departments of Totonicapan, El Quiché, Retalhuleu and Suchitepéquez, Quiché was the dominant tongue with Ixil being spoken in the municipios of Chajul, San Juan Cotzal, and Santa María Nebaj in the Department of El Quiché. Mam was exclusive in the Department of San Marcos, Pocomam Oriental in the Department of Jalapa and Chorti in

the Departments of Zacapa and Chiquimula. In the Departments of Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz and Huehuetenango, a variety of languages were spoken in each with Quiché and Pocomchi being dominant in Alta Verapaz, Quiché in Baja Verapaz, and Mam and Kanjobal in Huehuetenango.

The results of the Institute's study revealed that 95.8 per cent of the Indian population of Guatemala spoke only one Indian tongue. The percentage figures indicated that 26.8 per cent of the Indian population spoke Quiché, 20.0 per cent Cakchiquel, 1.4 per cent Tzutuhil, 0.2 per cent Uspanteca, 16.2 per cent Mam, 0.4 per cent Kanjobal, 0.6 per cent Chuj, 1.0 per cent Ixil, 15.0 per cent Kekchi, 3.0 per cent Pocomchi, 0.4 per cent Pocomam Oriental, and 0.8 per cent Pocomam Central.[28] After these statistical findings had been analyzed and reviewed, they were utilized in preparing a linguistic map of the entire republic by Antonio Goubaud Carrera and Alberto Arreaga.

Within the entire program of determining the distribution of the native languages in Guatemala, an in-depth study was begun of the Pocomam Oriental language in the Department of Jalapa and the Cakchiquel language as spoken in the Departments of Chimaltenango, Sacatepéquez, and parts of Sololá. Working on the assumption that Cakchiquel was the most widespread geographically of any of the Indian languages, the Institute began a detailed study of the language with the aim of devising an alphabet. Once this was achieved, educational materials for the literacy programs could be produced. The American linguist Mark Watkins was called to

aid in this endeavor.[29]

Arriving in Guatemala in September of 1946, Watkins proved to be extremely helpful to the Institute. After some careful research, Watkins, an authority on linguistic systems, was able to render an alphabet using Spanish sounds for the Cakchiquel language after some two weeks of travel through the Departments of Alta Verapaz, Chimaltenango and Sacatepéquez and several weeks of detailed field work in Patzún. The investigation involved lengthy considerations of the morphology, syntax and phonetics of the language. The new alphabet took into account some of the dialects of the Cakchiquel language.[30] The Ministry of Education, delighted over the result of Watkin's research, decided to begin using his alphabet as the basis for literacy training in the public schools in 1948.

Watkins did not limit his activities to this single project. In conjunction with investigators from the Instituto Indígenista and at the request of the Maryknoll missionary contingent in Guatemala, he prepared and formulated an alphabet based upon Spanish sounds for the Kanjobal language encountered in the northeastern sector of the Department of Huehuetenango. The Maryknolls were engaged in missionary work in several of the municipios in the area. After some intensive field work, the same was accomplished for the Mam language. With the assistance of Watkins, alphabets using Spanish vowels and consonants were prepared for the Cakchiquel, Mam, and Kanjobal languages, these accomplishments aiding to a great degree the efforts of the Maryknolls in Huehuetenango.[31] These

studies formed the basis for the development of cartillas or texts for literacy training for those speaking these three native tongues and would be used later by staff members at the Instituto Indígenista for teaching Spanish speaking Guatemalans the native languages.

In producing cartillas for later use by the Ministry of Education, the Instituto Indígenista was aided by another North American scholar, Norman McQuown, a linguist from the University of Chicago. After an intensive study of several of the Indian languages in Guatemala, McQuown established the fundamental phonemes for the Quiché, Kekchi, Kanjobal, Tzutuhil and Xiaca languages. With this information the sounds in the various tongues were symbolized by use of Spanish vowels and consonants and set down in an analytical format to be used in the cartillas then being developed. Using this information plus the material presented by Mark Watkins, the Instituto Indígenista began to design in detail several cartillas. Each was to be separated into two parts on a bilingual basis. The first part was designed to teach literacy in the Indian language while the second part contained lessons to teach one to be literate in Spanish. The Instituto also began to set up systems of grammar and punctuation for these languages.[32] Thus by the close of 1946 the Instituto, with the assistance of two linguists, had accomplished a great deal in preparing for a national literacy campaign that would soon be in full swing.

Before becoming director of the Instituto Indígenista, Antonio Goubaud Carrera had become interested in the dietary conditions of the Gua-

temalan Indian. Long aware that one of the primary difficulties facing under-developed countries throughout the world was the problem of dietetic deficiencies, the Carnegie Institute in Washington decided to fund Goubaud Carrera's intended study which he commenced in 1943.[33]

Prior to considering the dietary situation in Guatemala in detail, Goubaud Carrera had to determine the basic reality of the Guatemalan Indian, particularly his nutritional reality. His cursory investigations revealed a rural Indian laboring class which more often than not worked for differing periods of time as laborers on fincas. The Indians were seen largely to be self-sufficient, growing most of their food and making most of their own clothing, implements, utensils and other effects.[34] In 1942 one in every six laborers in the republic worked as a colono on a coffee plantation. The Indian communities, he concluded, were effectively separated from other socio-economic groups around them, having their own systems of social administration, customs and traditions. Their overall orientation was local rather than national.

Goubaud Carrera was seeking to arrive at a general statement of the Guatemalan Indian. In the area of general health, he asserted that infant mortality was quite high and a sizable percentage of the Indian population had been adversely affected by malaria, particularly in the coastal regions. Although malaria in 1943 was the greatest source of death, respiratory infections ran a close second followed by intestinal infections of various types. Degenerative diseases such as heart dis-

ease, cancer, and arterio-sclerosis were found to be rare in Guatemala.[35] Probably to the surprise of Goubaud Carrera and others, dietary diseases were moderate rather than severe and thiamine deficiencies common in other under-developed countries were seldom observed. Only three percent of the total population exhibited signs of anemia not associated with malaria or intestinal diseases.

In reviewing the economic situation of the Guatemalan Indian, Goubaud Carrera concluded that the Indian's plot of land which was privately owned by him was the rule rather than the exception. The size of this plot, however, was quite small. The bulk of the best arable land was owned in the form of latifundias devoted to the raising of export crops. Modern methods of farming when encountered were on the latifundias, the great majority of the Indian agriculturalists employing the farming methods used by their ancestors prior to the conquest. The crops generally grown by Indians in the tropical areas were rice, bananas, yuca and squash while in the highlands potatoes and wheat were grown. Throughout the republic tomatoes, onions, garlic, corn and a wide variety of fruits and vegetables were grown. Goubaud Carrera concluded finally that meat was not often consumed by the Indian. Beef was often sold and pigs were valued for their lard rather than for their potential as a source of meat. The only meat consumed periodically was chicken. Milk was consumed irregularly if at all.

Once these generalities had been established, Goubaud Carrera directed his attention to the corpus of his topic. He selected for intensive an-

alysis some 148 families in twelve different rural communities whose geographic, cultural and economic conditions were quite different. Approximately half of the families selected were Indian. These families represented the different economic levels given local standards. He studied each family for a period of one week noting the foods consumed, the amounts ingested by each family member, the manner in which the food was prepared, and its caloric value. Other data obtained reflected income levels, mode of living, property holdings, domestic animals, weekly expenditures on food and general family characteristics. This data was used in classifying families as rich, intermediate, or poor according to local standards.[36]

Of the Indian families studied, the man was the party charged with assuming the burden of supporting his family. Less than one-third of the Indians considered were literate and nearly all were agriculturalists with about half of these individuals having worked for given periods of time on fincas. Most of the Indian families kept chickens while only one in eight had a cow and most grew and consumed their own vegetables.

Nearly all of the foods prepared by the families in the study were analyzed from the point of view of the destruction or loss of nutrients in cooking. Daily caloric intake was carefully recorded. The results of this study, however, were different than what was initially suspected. Corn amounted to 98 per cent of the cereals diet of the Indian and 95 per cent of that of the Ladino. Corn was consumed in the form of tortillas

and a solution variously called atole. Rice and wheat were less important. Meat was the principal element of the dinner meal and was observed more frequently among Ladino families than among Indian families. Eggs, when available, were generally sold. Egg consumption was considerably higher among Ladinos than among Indians, the same being true of milk and cheese. Beans were often the main plate at a meal with one pound of intake per person per week being normal. Fats and oils were seldom used among the Indian populace.

For the intake of protein nearly half of the Indian families were below normal standards. Thiamine intake was inadequate as was vitamin A consumption. The principal dietetic deficiency, according to Goubaud Carrera, was riboflavin, this being lost directly in the treatment of corn in making tortillas. The carbohydrate intake was judged to be high.[37] In concluding his study in 1945, Antonio Goubaud Carrera emphasized that the greatest deficiency in the Guatemalan diet included the lack of foods containing vitamin A and riboflavin and the low intake of animal proteins and thiamine. The total volume of intake would have to be raised in these areas, he concluded, and this, if it was to be realized, would necessitate an increased availability of land for the production of the needed foods as well as an increase in the level of agricultural production.[38]

Sponsored by the Carnegie Institute in Washington, D.C., Goubaud Carrera's study on nutrition in Guatemala was to complement studies

of a similar nature that had been conducted in Europe, the United States and South America. Their aim in an humanitarian respect was to determine how health could be improved by the implementation of nutritionally sound diets. As far as Guatemala was concerned, the Instituto Indígenista needed to know what was consumed and the quantity consumed. With this information cooperative efforts with the Guatemalan government were later undertaken to improve the nutritional base of the republic's Indian population. Goubaud Carrera's study provided the corpus of data needed for the Instituto de Nutricíon de Centro America y Panama (INCAP) in cooperation with the United Nations to develop in Guatemala in particular a protein supplement for use by children.

The main objective was to produce a low-cost substitute for milk. To avoid dependency upon imports, the emphasis was placed upon the use of ingredients that were or could be produced locally. In this vein Nevin Scrimshaw and a group of scientists working at INCAP in Guatemala developed a mixture of corn and cottonseed flour that could be produced at a low cost, substantially less than milk. They demonstrated not only that such foods were good nutritionally but that children ill with the worst kinds of nutritional disorders could be restored to health by a regular diet of such a supplement. The research efforts of Scrimshaw's group resulted in a powdered product called Incaparina. By 1973 over one hundred million pounds of Incaparina had been produced and distributed throughout Guatemala and Central America and had provided

needed nutritional assistance to the Indian children of Guatemala.[39]

A topic of major concern in both public and private circles for the Arévalo regime was the fundamental preservation of the Indian's culture in Guatemala. A rich and colorful sector of this culture was the native dress which many felt should be protected and preserved, an idea coming from the Pátzcuaro convention and argued in Guatemala by David Vela, Antonio Goubaud Carrera, and others. As each Indian community used a particular style and color scheme in clothing that was quite different from other Indian communities, the desire was widespread to preserve in some way this colorful tradition. Proposed by several organs in the Guatemalan government, including the Instituto Indígenista and the Department of Public Education as well as the Society of Geography and History and the Carnegie Institute, was an organized effort to formulate a collection of native dress for the Indian municipios of Guatemala, one for women and one for men. The responsibility for initially classifying clothing items was to be assigned to the municipios. According to the nationwide census of 1934, some 354 municipios were named with approximately 275 having distinctly characteristic Indian garments. In order to collect these items, the alcaldes of each municipio were asked to send samples to the Instituto Indígenista. Once collected, the clothing would be displayed on mannequins at the Instituto Indígenista and classified. It was hoped that this effort would not only encourage interest in the Indian textile crafts but would indirectly stimulate the con-

tinuation of the manufacture and the use of these native items of clothing by the Indians themselves.[40]

In conjunction with this project and following the Arevalista dedication to the formation of cooperatives as a means of alleviating the economic ills facing Guatemala's Indians, it was recommended by the Instituto Indígenista and other organizations that cooperatives for the production of tejidos or textiles be formed throughout the republic. These cooperatives could protect the tejido producers from unfair exploitation on the open market. The middle man who had traditionally gained so handsomely from sales to tourists would be eliminated. In forming the cooperatives the Instituto Indígenista worked in conjunction with the Council on Cooperatives and Jorge del Pinal, a noted Guatemalan economist. Through these cooperatives, tejidos could be sold at prices which would yield a fair and just profit for those producing them. As the demand for tejidos was greatest in areas geographically adjacent to Guatemala City, the Instituto Indigenista opted to begin its efforts in the municipio of San Antonio Aguas Calientes and Santa María de Jesús in the Department of Suchitepéquez and in Palín in the Department of Escuintla, these municipios being well known for their production of tejidos. All families or groups producing tejidos and wishing to belong to the intended program received official authorization from the Guatemalan government after it had been determined that they indeed produced authentic Indian textiles. Such organizations, once approved, would be able to purchase raw materials at re-

duced rates and receive official assistance in the marketing of their finished goods.[41]

Each cooperative was to have a president, a council, a secretary and a treasurer and was to operate in its respective municipal capital by established rules and procedures that had been set down by the Department of Cooperatives. The task of the Instituto Indígenista was to assure the authenticity of all such garments and affirm that they were indeed the type, style and color of those worn in the locality concerned. To be authentic the tejidos had to be produced by hand and had to reflect in every detail the design and color of those items worn by the Indian resident in the particular area. The idea behind the formation of cooperatives and the institution of control was basically the protection of the process of manufacturing tejidos as an art form and possibly as a source of economic advantage for the Indians. In realizing the importance of this program, the Instituto Indígenista began in late 1945 to urge the Department of Public Education to declare the protection of Indian tejidos to be in the national interest. Such a declaration was made in 1945.[42]

To explore the economic possibilities of an enlarged tourist industry and how this would possibly benefit the Guatemalan Indian, the government called upon a recognized authority on the development of tourism. J. Stanton Robins arrived in Guatemala in 1946 and after a careful review of the Guatemalan situation advised that to develop its tourist in-

dustry the government must protect all Indian manual industries and especially the production of tejidos. Robins urged that Indian communities should be discouraged from spending large proportions of their aggregate income upon fiestas. This money, he urged, should be spent on the purchase of raw materials for industries such as the manufacture of textiles. The Instituto Indígenista, he advised, should pay the costs or a part of the costs of these fiestas with government funds and encourage the Indians to use any surplus funds in the development of their manual industries. Special efforts, he felt, should be undertaken to bring these products to market, this to be sponsored and funded by the government.[43] To begin a program designed to acquaint others abroad with the Guatemalan textile industry, the Instituto Indígenista began to encourage the export to foreign nations of Guatemalan Indian textiles. One of the first foreign visitors to be contacted and taken to Palín and Santa María de Jesús to observe the manufacture of textile goods by Indian craftsmen was Leslie Hore-Belisha, former Minister of War for Great Britain.[44]

Besides its studies of the Indian diet, the production of tejidos and Indian languages, the Instituto Indígenista in 1946 also began to focus upon its most extensive and demanding challenge. Little was known about rural Guatemala, particularly rural Indian Guatemala in 1946. Although several scholars and indigenistas including Otto Stoll, Franz Termer, Carl Sapper, Adrían Recinos and others had published studies of the Indians prior to 1946, there were many Indian municipalities in

the republic about which little was known. Knowledge of rural customs and traditions in many areas of the republic was cursory at best. Yet before any intensive national program of integration could be undertaken, this knowledge gap would have to be filled.

How was such an investigation to be conducted? The range of information needed was broad and few in Guatemala and in the Instituto Indígenista had prior experience with the techniques of anthropological investigation with the notable exception of Goubaud Carrera. The staff of the Instituto began its investigatory activities carefully supervised by Goubaud Carrera and financed by a budget allotted to the Instituto by the government. Goubaud Carrera considered the investigatory role of the Instituto to be of fundamental importance. Considerable care was thus exercised to assure that the information obtained would be as accurate as possible.

Coming to the aid of the Instituto Indígenista was Benjamin D. Paul, a noted anthropologist from Harvard University. In 1945 he proposed a guía sociológica or a field investigator's guide to be used by personnel of the Instituto. The guide established a set of topics to be considered by field workers. These included the economy of the municipio, housing, household furniture, dress, agricultural practices, local industries, occupations, social organizations, socio-political and religious structures, health, the world of the supernatural and the average life cycle.[45] Utilizing this guide, investigations were carried out in detail in San Martín

Jilotepeque and Patzún in the Department of Chimaltenango, Santiago Atitlán, San Pedro La Laguna, Santa Catarina Palopo, San Andres Semetabaj, and Concepcíon San Jose Chacaya in the Department of Sololá and San Antonio Aguas Calientes and San Bartolo Milpas Altas in the Department of Sacatepéquez. Using Paul's guide for both general as well as detailed investigations, numerous Indian communities were contacted in 1945 and early 1946.[46] Although the goal of preparing a monograph on every Indian community in the republic would not be near completion until years later, the task had been begun and an appreciable volume of information on the Cakchiquel region was compiled.

The Instituto Indígenista during 1945 and 1946 was indeed busy. Its personnel translated many government communiques and laws into the Indian languages and produced pamphlets dealing with the use of seeds in agriculture, a pamphlet which extolled the work ethic, and numerous other items, many of which were translated into Quiché, Cakchiquel, Tzutuhil, Mam, Ixil, Aguateca, Kakchi, and Pocomchi.[47] During 1946 Antonio Goubaud Carrera traveled extensively throughout the republic with President Arévalo reviewing the actual condition of rural Guatemala. It was decided that one community should be selected to receive an intensification of programs designed to elevate the standard of living of the Indian inhabitants and attempt to integrate them. The community selected was San José Chacaya in the Department of Sololá, the Instituto Indígenista being asked to initiate and direct the investigations and part of

the programs.[48]

In concluding the investigations in San José Chacaya and numerous other Indian communities, the Instituto Indígenista concluded in a report to the Ministry of Education and to President Arévalo that one of the greatest difficulties facing the Guatemalan Indian was a lack of knowledge on how to improve his standard of living. The Indians, for one thing, needed to produce more in order to live better. The introduction of new systems of agricultural production and land preparation was recommended. A national educational program was also urged.[49] It would be in this latter field of endeavor that the Instituto Indígenista would become an important tool in Arévalo's designs for the educational reform of Guatemala and the integration of its Indians.

# NOTES

## CHAPTER VI

[1]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Como nació el Instituto," Boletín del Instituto Indígenista Nacional, I (octubre-diciembre, 1945), p. 8.

[2]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "El Instituto Indígenista Nacional a través del tiempo," Boletín del Instituto Indígenista Nacional, Vol. I, No. 1-4 (1957), p. 7.

[3]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Como nació el Instituto," p. 8; Rubén E. Reina, Continuidad de la cultura indígena en una comunidad guatemalteca (Guatemala: Editorial "José de Pineda Ibarra," Ministerio de Educación Publica, 1959), pp. 10-11.

[4]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Trabajos y actividades," Boletín del Instituto Indígenista Nacional, Vol. I, No. 1-4 (1957), pp. 41-43.

[5]Ibid., pp. 44-45.

[6]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Notas del primer congreso nacional de maestros indígenas" (abril 10, 1945), pp. 2-3. (unpublished manuscript.)

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., pp. 4-6; Interviews, Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet, J. Martín Ordoñez Ch., Rosalio Saquic C., diciembre, 1970, Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[9]Jorge Arias B., "Aspectos demograficos de la población indígena de Guatemala," Guatemala indígena, I (abril-junio, 1961), pp. 14-16.

[10]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Trabajos y actividades del Instituto," p. 10.

[11]El Imparcial, agosto 28, 1945.

[12]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Los primeros años del Instituto" (Report prepared for the Boletín del Instituto Indígenista Nacional, January, 1955 edition, typewritten), p. 2.

[13]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Trabajos y actividades del Instituto," p. 12.

[14]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Informe por Lic. Antonio Goubaud Carrera" (septiembre 26, 1946), p. 1. (typewritten manuscript.)

[15]Ibid; Antonio Goubaud Carrera, "Del conocimiento del indio guatemalteco," Revista de Guatemala, Año I, No. 1 (septiembre, 1945), pp. 86-93.

[16]Antonio Goubaud Carrera, "Indigenismo guatemalteco," Indigenismo en Guatemala, ed. Antonio Goubaud Carrera (Guatemala: Centro Editorial "José de Pineda Ibarra," 1946), pp. 17-50.

[17]David Vela, "Prólogo," Indigenismo en Guatemala, ed. Antonio Goubaud Carrera, pp. 7-15.

[18]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Del consejo consultivo," Boletín del Instituto Indígenista Nacional, I (octubre-diciembre, 1945), p. 48.

[19]Eastburn Smith, "El problema de las suelos en Guatemala," Boletín del Instituto Indígenista Nacional, I-II (1945-1947), pp. 71-75; Alberto Arreaga, "Los Pocomames orientales, su frontera linguística," Boletín del Instituto Indígenista Nacional, I-II (1945-1947), pp. 45-49; Antonio Goubaud Carrera, "Estudio de la alimentación en Guatemala," Boletín del Instituto Indígenista Nacional, I-II (1945-1947), pp. 27-43; David Vela, "Importancia de la antropología aplicada," Boletín del Instituto Indígenista Nacional, I-II (1945-1947), pp. 66-69; Sol Tax, "La economía regional de las indígenas de Guatemala," Boletín del Instituto Indígenista Nacional, I-II (1945-1947), pp. 75-87; George W. Crile and Daniel P. Quiring, "Estudio del metabolismo del indígena maya-quiché," Boletín del Instituto Indígenista Nacional, I-II (1945-1947), pp. 57-61.

[20]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Reglamento para el Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca" (octubre 13, 1945). (unpublished manuscript with notes.)

[21]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Asignaciones presupuestales destinadas al Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, 1945-1946. (typewritten document, no date.)

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[23]Alfonso Caso, "Definición del indio y lo indio," América indígena, VIII (octubre, 1948), p. 240.

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[28]Ibid.

[29]Archivo del Instituto Indigenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Memoria del Instituto Indígenista Nacional" (octubre, 1950), p. 5. (unpublished manuscript.)

[30]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Informe de las actividades del Instituto" (diciembre, 1946), pp. 3-4. (unpublished manuscript.)

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[32]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Informe de las actividades del Instituto" (diciembre, 1946), pp. 7-9. (unpublished manuscript.)

[33]David Vela, "Prólogo," p. 13.

[34]E. S. Benítez and M. Flores, "Estudio de la dieta en Centro América," Indígenismo en Guatemala, ed. Antonio Goubaud Carrera, p. 85.

[35]David Vela, "Prólogo," p. 13; Benítez and Flores, "Estudio de la dieta en Centro América," p. 86.

[36]Benitez and Flores, "Estudio de la dieta en Centro América," p. 92.

[37]Ibid., pp. 97-99.

[38]Ibid., pp. 102-108.

[39]Alan Berg, The Nutrition Factor (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1973), pp. 118-19.

[40]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Proyecto para la formacion de una colección de trajes indígenas," Indigenismo en Guatemala, ed. Antonio Goubaud Carrera, pp. 47-50.

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[44]Ibid.

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[46]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Trayectoria del Instituto Indigenísta Nacional Guatemalteca," Boletín del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca (septiembre, 1946), p. 12.

[47]Ibid., p. 14.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid., pp. 7-8.

# CHAPTER VII

# THE REVOLUTIONARY APPLICATION OF THE INDIGENISTA ORIENTATION TO EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Whether an active and impassioned participant in the 1944 Revolution or a cautious observer, it could be concluded that Guatemalan education was, indeed, in dire circumstances and had been so for some time. The quest for wealth and position as well as spiritual conversion which had so characterized the colonial period had left little time for considerations of things educational. The continuation of Spanish domination in Guatemala was dependent upon manipulation and control of the Indian masses. An educated Indian laborer could well have posed a threat to this domination. It was, therefore, advantageous, or so thought the conquistadores and their counterparts in later generations, to maintain the ignorance of the Indian masses, particularly as they outnumbered the Spanish population and in later years the Creole and Ladino population. Yet the educational opportunities for even the sons and daughters of privileged parents was utterly lamentable throughout the colonial period and in 1593 reflected the stagnation characteristic of the colony's economy, school children being required to perform various tasks to gain what little education there was available. Education was at best inadequate and incomplete.[1]

With possible exceptions of a school in San Juan Sacatepéquez for Indian girls which operated for a time in the 1590's and two others in Antigua and Santa Catarina Pinula, educational training for Indian children was rarely available.[2]

Even by the close of the colonial period in the first years of the nineteenth century, there were few schools in Guatemala. In 1800 only three primary schools in the entire Reino de Guatemala were to be noted, the San Cisiano and San José Calasanz schools founded by Archbishop Francos y Monroy and a school at the Convento de Belén. Efforts by the ayuntamiento in Antigua in 1811 to set up the modern equivalent of vocational schools resulted in failure.[3] As Spanish artisans did not make a practice of instructing Indian laborers in their crafts, the only contact the Indian had with anything that might be loosely classified as education was whatever evangelistic attempts he may have experienced by way of a local priest or monk.

Although independence from Spain in 1821 brought an end to foreign domination in Guatemala, this event did not signal any abrupt change in Guatemalan education. The peninsulares had been replaced by the criollos as the advantaged group. Education for even the children of the elite was cursory at best with little emphasis upon practicality. Even the energetic and dedicated Mariano Gálvez in the end was unable to alter this situation. The English traveler Henry Dunn who visited Guatemala in the 1820's noted that there were no more than two schools in

the capital, both of which were grossly inadequate with improperly prepared teachers and a curriculum based upon outdated religious materials.[4] A viable educational system, Indian or otherwise, did not develop in nineteenth-century Guatemala for several reasons, some being personalismo, constant political intrigue, the maintenance of a rigid class structure, frequent wars, the lack of economic resources, the minimal application of laws, and the failure to sustain an educational system from one political regime to the next. Needless to say, educational facilities that would deal with topics of interest to the Indians such as agriculture were non-existent.[5]

Nevertheless, it was in the nineteenth century that the first positive steps were taken in Guatemalan Indian education. With the declaration of lay rather than church sponsored education in 1872, and Marco Aurelio Soto's establishment of the first extensive primary school, the commitment of the state to public education was affirmed. Indeed, the first extensive national law of education which attempted to define the roles and responsibilities of the state toward education was passed in January of 1875. Education, it was declared, would, henceforth, be free and civil, rather than religious in nature. A director of public education was to be named for each department and the curriculum for primary schools was to be enumerated.[6] These steps paved the way for the development of the contention held during the revolutionary decade in the twentieth century that the state's obligation was to educate the In-

dians. Under the regime of Justo Rufino Barrios, schools for Indian children were established in Quezaltenango, Cobán, and Jacotenango.[7]

These and other accomplishments, however, seldom were carried to the rural areas of Guatemala. The programs in education and related areas did not endure long enough to reach beyond the major municipal centers of the republic. The aldeas, cantones, and caseríos of the nation would remain without schools for years to come. For those areas that did have educational facilities, they were understaffed and in most cases the curriculum offered was theoretical and abstract. That this would not be substantially altered until 1944 could be explained in part by the dictatorial regimes of Manuel Estrada Cabrera and Jorge Ubico.

While Manuel Estrada Cabrera's interest in the antiquities and his salones de Minerva did little to advance education in Guatemala and actually brought about a retrogression, education reached a record low under the Ubico regime. Although educational facilities existed in some rural areas, they were often not operative. To be a teacher under the mano duro meant a life of near poverty and denial as salaries were seldom more than eight quetzales a month. Compounding this was the fact that the teacher was frequently the recipient of the disdain of local political figures including alcaldes and other municipal officials. With technical and administrative support unavailable to him, he was expected to operate under unfavorable circumstances and remain loyal to ubiquismo.

The repression of Ubico's Guatemala could only offer a program that called for the militarization of the nation's schools and the personnel teaching in them.[8] This was felt to be particularly important in the predominantly Indian areas of the republic. Ubico had forced some Indians to accept education to some extent in the Guatemalan army by the drafting of young Indian men as soldiers and training them as recruits. He apparently felt that this stern approach would be beneficial to education as a whole. Subsequently a decree passed in March of 1939 stipulated that the purpose of the Escuela Normal was to prepare primary school teachers and personnel for the Guatemalan army. All potential teachers were to receive military training. Decree 2412 passed on July 25, 1940 completed this trend in education by declaring that the curriculum for secondary schools was to be the same as the curso militar given army personnel.[9]

Under such a system the teacher was not allowed any latitude in his teaching methods or curriculum. The teaching methods utilized were as rigid in their structure as was the discipline in the schools. Recitation and memorization were the techniques employed while the subject matter was so abstract and theoretical that its successful application to practical matters would have been difficult under ideal circumstances. During the Ubico period there was little attempt to attract qualified and professional teachers. Many in the rural areas were barely literate yet were expected to offer a curriculum well beyond their meager capa-

bilities. The fourteen year tenure of Jorge Ubico resulted in the cancellation of many educational advances that had been recorded under his predecessor Chacón and earlier under Barrios. At its best, the education available to Guatemalans under Ubico was not adequate, being ancient in its context, impractical in its overall operation and urban in its orientation. The emphasis upon memorization at the expense of thought or creativity and the rigid discipline imposed served to deter interest or initiative on the part of the students. The Ubico period saw no serious attempt to gear any educational programs to the interests and needs of Guatemala's Indians. By 1944 what was left was an unstructured educational system as stagnant as it had been in earlier eras with a dropout rate exceeding thirty per cent in the rural schools.[10]

Given an educational system which discouraged individual development and one which was run by often corrupt officials who were rarely literate themselves, the situation facing the new revolutionary government was one demanding prompt and effective action. Yet, what was to be done? Nearly three-fourths of the republic's population were illiterate and the nation's school systems for nearly two decades had been grossly neglected in nearly every respect. The educational systems prior to 1944 and particularly under Ubico had failed first in the transmission of the nation's collective cultural heritage and secondly in the preparation of students for responsible adulthood. Manuel Galich, writing in December of 1945, related that virtually nothing had been done

during the Ubico period to combat Indian illiteracy.[12] In the wave of dissatisfaction and discontent which swept Ubico out of office in 1944, it was felt by many that the educational system was in need of several fundamental changes. A new direction and a new respectability could raise the republic from its morass of ignorance to a plain of educational commitment and a promise for all. Soon after October 20, 1944 such a change began to materialize.[13]

In reviewing the domestic situation in Guatemala shortly after October 20, 1944, the revolutionary junta surveyed the state of Guatemalan education and decided upon taking firm steps which hopefully would alter its deplorable state. Feeling that its approach needed to be explained in a legal context, the junta adopted a series of policy statements which were later incorporated into the 1945 Constitution. Article seventy-nine of the new constitution declared the development of a culture in all of its manifestations to be a primordial obligation of the state. Article eighty affirmed that the new government would consider as one of its fundamental functions the protection and expansion of education throughout the republic. The educational system would be restructured to provide training in personal health, ethic and moral improvement, and civics, or, in other words, would serve in promoting responsible citizens. Article eighty-one provided for free and lay primary education that would be supported and directed by the state. The training of teachers was to become, in particular, a task to be assumed

by the state.[14]

Although the junta had taken measures to legalize what would be its approach to education, the problems to be overcome in this field were monumental.[15] Illiteracy was foremost.[16] The reasons for the seventy per cent level of illiteracy in Guatemala were numerous. In those countries having large Indian majorities, at least one author claimed that the high illiteracy rates were due to the lack of a national spirit in many educational programs, the continued neglect of the Indian and the popularly held conception of him as an inferior being belonging to a disadvantaged race. These, coupled with political systems which purposefully ignored social progress for the Indian and economic advancement for the Indian agriculturalist were fundamental causes of illiteracy.[17] Poor facilities, the necessity to travel great distances in order to attend school, educational programs which did not meet the needs of the students or their communities, agricultural necessities which demanded the energies of children as well as adults, the cultural passivism of the rural Indian, and the high incidence of migration among rural Indian laborers all served to encourage Indian illiteracy.[18]

As reported in the census of 1940, there were 714,049 children in the republic between seven and fourteen years of age. During the 1944-1945 school year only 130,546 or less than twenty per cent of the school age population were enrolled in any school. Of this number only 59,046 or approximately forty-three per cent of the total were enrolled in rural

schools.[19] The conditions in the rural schools were primitive. Many of the structures said to be school buildings were scarcely more than unsanitary hovels devoid of proper light or air. The minimum amount of furniture and equipment to operate a school was seldom present or even available. Not even one public rural school in the republic offered more than three years of elementary education.[20] The fact that educational programs in Guatemala prior to 1944 had seldom stirred the interest of the Indian represented the fundamental void in Guatemalan education.

Illiteracy was everywhere to be noted in 1944 according to preliminary field investigations of the problem conducted by the Instituto Indígenista. In the barrios of La Reformita and Santa Elisa near Guatemala City, nearly forty-one per cent of the population was illiterate. Even in the center of Guatemala City where newspapers were easily obtainable and where there were numerous theaters, hotels, and commercial establishments, the illiteracy rate exceeded twenty per cent. These rates, however, were far exceeded by the illiteracy levels in rural Guatemala. Retalhuleu, El Asintal, Santa Cruz Mulua, and San Sebastían in the Department of Retalhuleu all recorded rates in excess of sixty-five per cent while areas in the predominantly Indian departments of Sololá, Totonicapán, Alta Verapaz, and Baja Verapaz reported rates of eighty-five per cent and higher.[21] Even in the fairly prosperous zone of Mazatenango, over sixty-five per cent of the populace was illiterate, with

nearly ninety-eight per cent in some areas.[22] Facing the junta and the two revolutionary governments to follow was overturning this tradition of ignorance which had persisted since the colonial period.

To educate the Indian or at least make him literate would require special programs for both adults and children.[23] Regardless of the method used to educate the Indians of Guatemala, the task would be doomed from its first day of operation if it did not offer to the Indian something of value or interest. Why learn the alphabet or why learn to speak Spanish if such knowledge would not at least promise material improvement? Accepting this point of view placed the junta squarely in the indígenista camp and recalled the views on education that had been advocated earlier by Gálvez, Barrios to some extent, Reina Barrios, and more contemporary indígenistas such as Vela and Goubaud Carrera.

Recognizing that the massive problem of illiteracy had received scant attention in decades, the junta decided to combat it. On November 29, 1944 decree number twenty created the National Committee on Illiteracy (Comité Nacional de Alfabetización) which would have jurisdiction throughout the republic and would be functional as a division within the Ministry of Public Education. The decree itself recognized illiteracy as the primary cause of the failure of any development leading toward an authentic democracy in the republic. The decree implied that the aim of the National Committee on Illiteracy would be to help convert Guatemala into a nation known for its culture, its liberty, and its civic orientation.[24]

Although the junta took the step initially to create a National Illiteracy Committee, and approval of this was forthcoming by the National Assembly, it was not until March 8, 1945 that a comprehensive law on illiteracy was passed. The Ley de Alfabetización declared the illiteracy problem to be a national emergency and defined literacy as the ability to read and write well enough to allow the Indian and Ladino illiterates to be fully incorporated into Guatemalan society. The first phase of the literacy campaign was to center in Guatemala City where various teaching techniques and programs could be tested and evaluated and the personnel recruited and trained for a campaign that would be extended later to all sections of the republic. Training was to be integrative in character.

The junta and later the president of the republic assumed the ultimate responsibility for the direction of the literacy campaigns. The Secretary of Public Education was named as the executive director of the upcoming literacy campaigns. Various organs of the national government were to cooperate with the committee as well as local governmental officials. The Ley de Alfabetización also stipulated that such officials were to help active members of the committee to establish centers and regional literacy organizations in the small towns of the republic. The committee was to devise means of financing its activities including the sale of stamps. Signed by Francisco Araña, Jorge Toriello, Jacobo Arbenz, and Jorge Luís Arriolo, the Ley de Alfabetización firmly committed the

revolutionary governments to making literacy a reality.[25]

Although the organization of the committee for the first and subsequent literacy campaigns was altered on several occasions, a number of associations and agencies were called upon to participate in the first literacy campaigns. Those that would be active in these first campaigns included a number of notables such as Lilly de Jongh Osborne, Luís Cardoza y Aragón, Elisa Hall de Asturias, Carlos Samayoa Aguilar, Gerardo Gordillo Barrios, M. T. Alfonso Fortuny, Alaide Foppa de Solórzano, David Vela, Antonio Goubaud Carrera, and others.[26]

Although having to operate with a budget of only one thousand quetzales, the first literacy campaign received a great deal of popular and spontaneous support. Far more critical than the insufficient budget was the lack of facilities and materials. This lack had prompted official encouragement from government circles of all who were literate to teach someone else how to read and write. Perhaps in no other epoch did any government encounter such interested and dedicated support as did the junta with this initial literacy effort. By the end of the first literacy campaign in which 16,784 Guatemalans enrolled, 5,143 were declared to be literate.[27] Although administrative disorganization had resulted in part in this low yield, this first campaign, nevertheless, was important in that it acquainted many with the potential and real problems to be encountered in a literacy campaign. Discovered particularly were techniques which were effective and a basic realization of the entire

problem.

Collecting and digesting what information it had gleaned from the first campaign, the committee launched its second literacy campaign on February 2, 1946. The campaign lasted until June 30, 1946, with one thrust in Guatemala City and another in rural Guatemala, specifically in the cities of Retalhuleu and Mazatenango and the various population centers around Malacatán, El Rodeo, Tumbador, Coatepeque, Calomba, Asintal, San Sebastian, Santa Cruz Mulua and Cuyotenango. The goal of the second campaign was to bring literacy to ten thousand Guatemalans.[28] To carry out this tremendous task, titled school teachers were used with an average salary of fifteen quetzales a month. The collective approach, it was decided, would be far more effective than the person to person approach and would involve considerably fewer people.

The campaign, however, was not confined solely to literacy training. It included lessons in civics, recreation, personal health, sanitation, and agriculture, or the so-called fundamental block of education. It was estimated that in the Mazatenango region alone some 75,000 persons could benefit from the general lessons. Some three hundred evening schools were set up for use by adults and one hundred day schools for children were scheduled for operation in areas where there were no schools. Although these goals were not met, many new schools were established. Whenever possible, rural school teachers were hired, particularly in cases where the teacher could instruct both children

and adults.

For the administration of the program in the Mazatenango area, five sections were created with an office in each geographical section. The first section consisted of Malacatán and El Rodeo; the second, Tumbador and Coatepeque; the third, Colomba and Asintal; the fourth, Retalhuleu, San Sebastián and Santa María; and the fifth, Cuyotenango and Mazatenango. Activities in this second campaign, however, extended beyond the confines of Guatemala City and the Mazatenango area. Spontaneous movement was observed during the course of the campaign in some sixteen departments of the republic as various associations and organizations such as Rotary Clubs, the Ministry of Agriculture and others lent their support and in some cases began their own programs. In the capital alone the results of this second campaign were rewarding with over 3,202 persons passing their literacy examinations. Some 2,718 persons were declared to be literate in the departments. Counting school children, the second campaign brought 10,718 Guatemalans into the literate world. This had been achieved with the employment of 208 teachers.[29]

By the conclusion of the second literacy campaign, it had become obvious to many that if the problem of literacy was to be given the attention the extent of the problem indicated, larger budgets would have to be allocated. After exhaustive study it was decided to employ a lottery to gain the needed funds. By virtue of decree number 361 which was passed on April 14, 1947 the lotería chica proalfabetización was

created. The lottery tickets would be sold in amounts between ten centavos and one quetzal and occasionally larger amounts. The lottery was to be directed and administered by the National Literacy Committee which in turn would be supervised and periodically inspected by the Ministry of Public Education and the Ministry of the Treasury and Public Credit. The expenditures of the lottery were to constitute only the payment of premiums and salaries of employees, the printing fees, sales commissions, advertising and general operating expenses.

All funds received from the sale of a particular group of tickets were to be transferred to the Ministry of Public Education whose responsibility it would be to allocate all funds.[30] The first drawing of tickets took place on June 20, 1947. Depending on the amounts of funds received, the earnings were to be channeled first to the literacy campaigns and then to the primary school programs, rural education programs and the universidad popular. At least twenty-five per cent of the total funds received were to be devoted to literacy programs. Although this legislation would not directly benefit the third literacy campaign, it was an important factor for later campaigns. Created in 1947, the lottery was destined to be used for many years to come as a means of financing educational programs.[31]

The third national literacy campaign which followed on the heels of a reorganization of the National Illiteracy Committee began in June of 1946 and ended in February of 1947. With a budget this time of slightly

more than 2,500 quetzales per month, the committee was hopeful of a widespread program. With the increase in funds the campaign went to ninety-six municipalities throughout the republic and enrolled 24,961 students. Some 657 literacy training centers were established and 741 teachers were hired. With this campaign teachers were not to be paid strictly a monthly salary but were to be reimbursed upon the results obtained by their students. This approach was adopted to ensure that teachers would remain in their classrooms and be attentive to the task at hand.

Of the nearly 25,000 students enrolled, 17,756 were declared to be literate by the end of the campaign. Although the goal had been 25,000, the lack of trained personnel and learning materials made the achievement of this goal impossible. During the campaign the Guatemalan Army was active in training its enlisted personnel and several communities began programs of various types to finance the campaign in their respective localities. The campaign for the first time benefited from the active contributions and participation of the Instituto Indígenista and several other organs of the national government.[32] The idea that literacy was a desirable and beneficial goal was explained publicly and given considerable emphasis in political circles.[33]

With the beginning of the fourth literacy campaign in June of 1947, expectations were inflated as never before. The campaign was to be the first funded with profits from the lottery and the materials to be presented were wider in scope and included an educational program

rather than just the literacy blocks on reading, writing, and arithmetic. With this campaign there were to be some 1,800 literacy centers and some 114 new schools which would serve both as rural schools and literacy training centers. Teachers working in the literacy campaigns were to receive salaries equivalent to those of their counterparts in other sections of the educational system. In as many cases as possible, regular rural school teachers were hired. They were to operate in their regular locality, working with children during the days and whenever possible with adults in the evenings. For thirty-eight of the new schools 4,300 students were enrolled.[34] Sustaining a good deal of popular support as well as financial aid from the lottery, the fourth campaign by December of 1947 had taught 24,021 persons to be literate out of the 36,234 who had enrolled.[35]

Throughout the first four literacy campaigns several agencies including the Instituto Indígenista cooperated in the attack on illiteracy and its many related aspects. The Instituto Indígenista spent a considerable portion of its efforts in compiling materials for literacy training in the Indian languages. Beyond the actual formulation of cartillas or primers in the Indian tongues, the Instituto had been cooperating with the Departamento de Alfabetización in gathering information on such topics as municipalities where Indian languages were spoken exclusively, locations where there were no schools, indices of illiteracy, recruitment programs to attract bilingual teachers, investigations throughout the re-

public to discover zones of linguistic unity, Indian customs and psychological points of view that may or may not affect literacy programs, technical approaches to be used in instruction in the Indian languages, the use of phonetic systems based upon the Spanish alphabet, the organizing of reading passages that would interest the rural Indian, and, in a sense, advertising techniques that would attract Indian adults to the literacy centers. Much of this research was concluded and evaluated in time for the opening of the fifth literacy campaign.[36]

Unlike the first four literacy campaigns which attempted to reach as many people as possible with fundamental programs, the fifth campaign attempted a different approach. What had prompted a change was the concern by many that what had been learned in the former literacy experiences would soon be forgotten because of the lack of practice and the absence of reinforcement learning. Few, indeed, were the materials to maintain literacy once it had been achieved. To offset this the government began publication of a periodical called Nuevo Lector which contained articles in Spanish and in several of the major Indian languages on topics and situations of interest to the Indian agriculturalist. Although the absence of printing machinery delayed this project for a time, it finally was put into operation. The fifth campaign, which lasted from April to November of 1948, attempted to include a basic program in the social sciences to be given in conjunction with the teaching of reading and writing. The campaign reported success for 13,210 out of 21,244

students who had been initially enrolled.[37]

In 1948 Hector Guerra Martínez, then head of the Departamento de Alfabetización, made a study of the problems encountered in literacy training by potential adult students. He concluded, as had others, that a number of factors were operating to keep adults away from their literacy classes. These included the necessities of seasonal migrations in search of work, particularly migrations to the coastal fincas, sickness, the scarcity of appropriate and interest inspiring material, the lack of interest in general in education, community opposition on occasions, the short duration of time spent in instruction, the diversity of Indian dialects, occasionally a pronounced Ladino-Indian prejudice; the low level of preparation of teachers, and cultural separateness.

Guerra Martínez felt that a regional approach would take into account these problems. A regional campaign well grounded in preparatory lessons, he felt, would achieve far better results than the nationwide campaigns previously utilized. An area of Guatemala would have to be selected where illiteracy was high yet where there was not an abundance of Indian languages in current usage. The area selected for the implementation of such a program was the Department of Jalapa. Prior to beginning the campaign each prospective teacher was briefed on the social history of the area as well as on new instructional techniques to be employed. Over fifty per cent of the aldeas in Jalapa were without schools, public or private, a statistic shared by the other departments

of the republic.[38]

The sixth campaign operated from January until December of 1949 and included some new satellite programs. Medicine was dispensed whenever possible to battle common diseases. In this effort the Dirección General de Sanidad cooperated. Also a reforestation program was begun with the assistance of the Ministry of Agriculture. In the educational programs new attention was given to the constitution, the work code, and the development of civic consciousness. The success in Jalapa was nearly immediate and officials were soon calling for the inauguration of similar programs in Baja Verapaz and other regions of the republic. In Jalapa alone 7,000 people had become literate while in the rest of the republic a total of 9,119 were declared to be literate out of the 15,233 who had enrolled. The campaign in Jalapa was a definite success.[39]

With the seventh literacy campaign which opened in January of 1950 and which was scheduled to operate until December of the same year, numerous problems were encountered. The last year in Arévalo's term of office was also an election year and to a large extent the political circumstances of the period rendered impossible the attainment of the campaign's goals. A project that was begun at this time and one that would have important effects in later years was the preparation of the entire literacy programs and primary school curricula in the twenty Indian languages commonly encountered in Guatemala. Lic. Juan de

Dios Rosales of the Instituto Indígenista, an individual dedicated to the proposition of the integration of the Indians, was given the responsibility for carrying out this program. By the close of 1950 the Instituto Indígenista had produced several cartillas, some having been used to advantage in the fifth literacy campaign two years earlier.[40] As over eighty-five per cent of Guatemala's Indians spoke Kekchi, Quiché, Cakchiquel, or Mam, it was agreed that these four languages would be utilized in formulating literacy materials.[41] Although the campaign was interrupted on several occasions by political activities, it did result in providing literate Guatemala with 5,433 more members.[42]

With this literacy campaign an innovation was included which was termed a program of cultural extension. Educational films were shown at various locations throughout the republic, pertinent books were sent to libraries in Quezaltenango and Mazatenango, and exhibitions of art works by national artists were organized whenever possible. The first Guatemalan painter to benefit from this was Juan Pedro Aroch. His paintings were put on display in the salon of the Escuela Nacional de Artes Plásticas in November of 1950. Other artists whose works were shown in this program were Dagoberto Vásquez and Juan Antonio Franco. What was intended with these showings of Guatemalan art was the development of a consciousness in one collective artistic and cultural experience which included the work of Indian artists.[43] Reflected in this program was President Arévalo's often stated goal of an integrated

national culture which included in all respects the Indian element in Guatemala.

The seven literacy campaigns in operation during Arévalo's term of office covered a large geographical area and achieved amazing results given the difficulties to be overcome. Many areas of the republic came into direct contact for the first time in decades with an educational program whose goals were other than those of instilling a sense of militaristic discipline. Working on the belief that literacy was an important key to integration and civic development, nearly 83,000 Guatemalans were taught to read and write and at least another 55,000 came into contact with the programs offered. Operating in conjunction with the Instituto Indígenista, some 22,000 school children, many of whom were Indian, were taught to read and write in Spanish through the programs organized by the Comite Nacional Pro-Alfabetización and the Ministry of Public Education.[44]

Throughout the period the Instituto Indígenista was active in field investigations of various types in dozens of rural communities in order to obtain the cultural and statistical information needed to assure a lasting success of these efforts. Although the first literacy campaigns copied those utilized in other Latin American countries in teaching just the rudiments that would make one literate, by the third campaign various subjects normally encountered in the primary schools were taught as well. By the sixth and seventh campaigns, history, geography, civics,

agriculture, and other courses corresponding to the first three years of primary school were included.

The first bilingual texts used in the literacy campaigns near the end of the Arévalo period attempted to provide learning material that would attract the interests of the campesinos in a given area. Once the basic sounds of language had been mastered and simple sentences had been learned, the lessons utilized attempted to emphasize moral, spiritual, and physical topics pertinent to the rural environment of the immediate area. Materials in the later campaigns were frequently concerned with topics in agriculture such as systems of cultivation and irrigation, physical health, social activities and occasionally lessons centered around Indian legends and traditions.[45]

To assure the chances of success in the campaigns, the National Illiteracy Committee and the Ministry of Public Education made more extensive the requirements and training necessary to be a rural school teacher or a literacy instructor. Some experience in rural education was deemed necessary as was the ability to speak fluently one of the major Indian languages of Guatemala. An adequate educational preparation was expected. Prior to assignment, the prospective literacy instructors were to be knowledgeable of the region to which they would be assigned, this to include information on the agriculture, health standards, rural economy, rural sociology, and the geography and history of the region.[46] They were also to be well grounded in the various approaches to teaching liter-

acy and were to have received training in the methods of presenting lessons on the phonetics of the Indian languages. That many of these expectations would not be met was reasonable given the circumstances in Guatemala, but at least the standards had been established.

Between 1944 and 1950 the approach taken by the Guatemalan government to the problem of illiteracy had changed from a post-revolution statement of intent to a dedicated national program both practical and theoretical in nature. The budgets had been altered from a meager 10,000 quetzales to one of nearly 74,000 quetzales in 1950. From 1948 through 1950 over 210,000 dollars had been spent directly on literacy campaigns.[47] Concurrent with this accelerated financial commitment, there developed in Guatemala a political point of view centering around the illiteracy issue. Recognizing this the later literacy campaigns sought to stimulate and maintain the interest of the campesino.

After the experience of three literacy campaigns, officials of the National Illiteracy Committee observed that the really important effects of literacy were those that affected the community. Thus by the seventh campaign, the programs sought to make as large an impression upon the community as possible by addressing themselves to topics of immediate interest to their pupils. Literacy was viewed by many arevalistas as intimately related to the many social problems present in Guatemala. It was seen to represent social justice and integration and remained a basic point of emphasis for the revolutionary goal of integration and incorporation of all Guatemalans. Indeed, literacy became the central is-

sue in the politics of education during the Arévalo years.[48]

For President Arévalo, however, illiteracy and the lack of education spelled more than just a traditionally poor educational system. The failure of Guatemala over the decades to create a viable and effective educational system was to the president and many others the fundamental cause of the failure of economic and social development throughout the republic. One of the first acts to be undertaken by Arévalo was to make teaching as a vocation more attractive financially or at the minimum to pay teachers sufficiently to allow them to survive economically. The Ley de escalafón magisterio nacional, passed in November of 1947, doubled in most cases the salaries of school teachers.[49]

As far as Arévalo was concerned, education in Guatemala in 1944 was impractical, outdated and stagnant as a system and as a collection of institutions. His aim was to make the educational systems of the republic functional and active and then to use it to integrate the illiterate and untrained into Guatemalan society. To assist in this task, outside assistance was needed.

In order to maintain friendly relations with the republics of Latin America during World War II, the United States began a phase of cooperation with and assistance to these countries in the areas of public health, education and agriculture. These programs involved the sending of selected Latin American officials to the United States for training and the development and expansion of educational systems.[51] In the

agreement of assistance and cooperation that Guatemala through Manuel Galich formulated with the United States in July of 1945, attention focused on the rural school. Regional rural normal schools were to be developed as well as a new style rural school. Special attention was to be given to the Indian and to technical studies. The program in Guatemala was one of sixteen such programs conducted by the Inter-American Educational Foundation, a corporation of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs acting for the United States government.[52]

The aim of this cooperative program reflected the contention espoused by President Arévalo that no educational reform would achieve success in Guatemala without taking into consideration the attitudes, customs, and cultural practices of the republic's Indian groups. This cooperative effort would be established on the thesis that an educational program by its very nature presupposed organized training toward known objectives and that it must reflect and serve the needs of the environment in which it will operate. Unlike prior efforts which had failed because of a lack of technical knowledge and preparation, this program was to be firmly based upon empirical research findings before any extensive action was undertaken. The representative of the Inter-American Educational Foundation, William J. Griffith, was active throughout Guatemala during the latter part of 1944 in gathering data on a variety of social, economic and cultural topics.[53]

The conclusions of this investigation in 1944 indicated clearly that

Guatemala's greatest educational crisis was to be found in rural education. Such education had seldom in past eras been adopted to rural needs and there was no department within the Ministry of Public Education for rural education. To fill this gap the Inter-American Cooperative Educational Service was established as an agency within the Ministry of Public Education. The representative of the Inter-American Educational Foundation directed the Service on behalf of both governments and had the responsibility of carrying out the programs mutually agreed upon.[54]

The 1944 study also revealed the poor preparation of rural school teachers and the lack of proper educational materials. To complement this aspect of the study the Inter-American Cooperative Educational Service decided to review first hand the educational situation in the Cakchiquel region of Guatemala. Visits to the schools in this region were designed to accumulate details on the number of grades in the school, the number of teachers, the number of courses offered in Spanish, the presence or absence of books and materials for use by the students, and the number of hours per day of instruction. In subsequent discussions with officials in the Ministry of Public Education, it was concluded that what Guatemala needed more than anything else in this sector of education was a new type of rural school. Education, it was felt, should attempt to improve the well-being of the campesino by assisting him on a daily basis and secondly to promote individual and collective action designed to improve or alleviate these problems. To improve the nature

and the quality of family economy, personal health, and the educational and cultural levels in each rural Guatemalan community was to be the overall aim of the republic's rural schools.[55]

For purposes of administration and supervision, a particular region of Guatemala was chosen to begin operation. The area selected was the Cakchiquel region located in the Guatemalan highlands between Guatemala City and Lake Atitlán and including the departments of Chimaltenango and Sacatepéquez and portions of the departments of Guatemala, Sololá, Escuintla, Suchitepéquez, and Baja Verapaz. Yet before any program could be undertaken, it had to be organized. To accomplish this some sixty-five rural school teachers from the Cakchiquel region were selected to attend a workshop that would be held on the national finca "La Alameda" near Chimaltenango in May and June of 1946. Lasting nearly six weeks, the workshop, which included the participation of members of the United States field staff, set up a new curriculum for the rural schools in the region which included reading, writing, arithmetic, social studies, physical education, health education, agriculture, and manual arts.[56]

The efficient collaboration of the group attending the workshop resulted in a rather impressive list of suggestions and accomplishments. Courses of study were prepared for the three year rural schools in the subject areas discussed. A guide for the teaching of reading by the sentence method was prepared which anticipated the Freire method which

had been used in Chile and Brazil. This, it was hoped, would stress comprehension and promote practicality and would do away with the syllable and word method traditionally utilized in Guatemalan education which often left the Indian student as ignorant after the course as before. A social studies course was developed which would begin by emphasizing the child's experiences at home and in his country and proceed from this point. Language difficulties encountered by Indian pupils, it was felt, could thus be overcome by using familiar material. An integrated oral language and reading program was suggested as a means of making meaningful the topics of reading and spelling.[57]

Agriculture, it was urged, should be given particular emphasis in the new curriculum. Although it had been authorized in previous rural curricula, it was taught only rarely, if at all. The workshop's recommendation was that scientific principles of agriculture should be taught and reinforced by classroom demonstrations and practical applications of the techniques learned. With seeds and animals being provided by the schools, the practices were to be fostered and encouraged in the homes of the students. The manual arts program was to stress the production of items from materials available in the immediate environment that would serve to improve the home and the health conditions in the homes of the students. The programs of health and physical education were designed to promote proper health habits that would be carried by the students to their homes and hopefully discourage the many unhealthy

habits and practices encountered in rural Guatemala. The curriculum and courses of study proposed during the workshop were adopted officially by the Ministry of Public Education.[58]

The workshop attendants had discussed at some length the needs of rural Guatemalan education and had proposed fundamental changes in the curricula. The next step was to implement these programs. However, before this could be accomplished, personnel familiar with this newly authorized curriculum would need training and supervision. A Regional Rural Normal School for teachers in the Cakchiquel area was established.

In a study conducted jointly with the Instituto Indígenista, it was concluded that the aldea of Santa María Cauque of the municipality of Santiago Sacatepéquez would be the most promising site. Land was ceded by the municipality and arrangements were made for the construction of the new school. The school, as it was planned, would serve both as a school and a community center and would consist of classrooms and a series of single family dwellings where teachers and their families could reside while in attendance. Plots of land were to be made available for cultivation by both the family units and collectively by the students. The emphasis on the family was a result of conversations at the workshop which concluded that rural educational programs must satisfy the needs of the family unit.[59]

To avoid costly delay while the facility at Santa María Cauque was being constructed, the Inter-American Educational Foundation and the

Guatemalan government decided to begin operation of this first Regional Rural Normal School at the finca "La Alameda" in June of 1946.[60]

The student body of the new school consisted of thirty-five of the Guatemalan teachers who had attended the workshop. All were given scholarships to begin their two-year course which provided, in addition to educational costs, board and living quarters for their immediate families and a monthly stipend generally equal to the salaries they had earned as active teachers. All agreed to accept an appointment as a rural school teacher upon the completion of their training. While the student of each family unit at "La Alameda" was attending classes, his or her children would receive training in a demonstration school set up by the workshop and the spouse would likewise receive instruction. Community activities were planned for the students and their families and residents in the immediate area. The school faculty was to be comprised of members of the United States field staff working in conjunction with Guatemalan educators and technicians.[61]

"La Alameda," approximately two kilometers from the town of Chimaltenango, provided in many respects an ideal setting for the operation of a rural teacher training school. Rural in its physical location as well as its cultural surroundings, "La Alameda" allowed the students and their families to be completely immersed for two years in what represented rural Guatemala in as many characteristics as possible. Although products themselves of the Cakchiquel area, the students and

their families were in a situation where their lessons could not only be mastered on familiar grounds but put to immediate practice in a known environment.[62]

The concept of the Regional Rural Normal School was, indeed, a departure for Guatemalan education. It represented a new institution whose goals were quite specific, that of creating rural school teachers who would be morally, intellectually, and professionally capable of entering a rural community and functioning effectively as both a teacher and a member of the community.

A wide variety of subjects were taught with the emphasis being upon practicality and the direct application of principles. In agriculture numerous topics were presented, some of these being livestock care, elements of genetics, plant and animal diseases, crop yields as determined by climatic conditions, horticulture, soil conservation, irrigation, and the preparation of insecticides and fungicides. Classroom instruction was frequently supplemented by experiments in the school garden or in animal raising projects. Agricultural clubs were organized among the students and their families for the practical application of the principles and techniques they had learned.[63]

The health course offered at "La Alameda" was extensive in the range of topics presented and intensive with respect to the principles it hoped to impart. The program stressed the formation and practice of health habits which would assist in eliminating the wide variety of

water and soil borne diseases commonly found in rural Guatemala. Sanitation practices were particularly emphasized. Wives of students were given training in proper nutrition and effective means of utilizing the materials in their environment for effective and healthy homemaking. Also stressed was personal health care, prenatal care, mental hygiene, and introductory courses in several of the biological sciences, including zoology, botany, and plant genetics.[64]

In addition to their training in health and agriculture, the students received intensive training in the basic elementary school curriculum as developed by the workshop and in teaching methods. The future teachers were urged to employ various visual aids and teaching aids for use in reading and arithmetic lessons and were given the opportunity to employ what they had learned in the demonstration school and in local schools in the area. In all of their training at the Regional Rural Normal School under the supervision of William J. Griffith the foremost goal was to return the students to their home communities as teachers able to create schools capable of giving to their students the tools and the knowledge necessary to deal effectively with the problems and demands facing them. The first year of the Regional Rural Normal School was successfully completed with most of the original contingent proceeding onward to the second year. They were joined by a new first-year class in 1947, the enrollment being full at this point for the first time.[65]

On February 22, 1948 some thirty-five students were graduated from

their two-year program at the Regional Rural Normal School. Filled with expectations of success in their new careers, many returned to active teaching positions in the Cakchiquel region only to find that in many instances their monthly salaries were either the same as what they were when they began their studies at "La Alameda" or they were less. This, however, was corrected on May 19, 1948 when Ricardo Paganini, the Minister of Public Education, arranged for an increase of ten quetzales a month for those who had graduated from "La Alameda".[66]

The Regional Rural Normal School had been organized with the distinct purpose of taking untitled school teachers presently in service and training them to meet adequately the challenge of rural education. By this means it was felt that a viable rural educational system operated by properly prepared personnel could become an object of pride rather than something for which only excuses could be given. Although some of the aims and goals of this program would be forgotten in the post Arévalo years when urban oriented teachers would be assigned rural posts, the initial effort had been successful as Guatemala began to experience for the first time a genuine rural educational system which reflected the needs of rural Indian Guatemala and as well reflected what several indigenistas had been urging in respect to rural education.

The initial results achieved by some of those who had been trained at "La Alameda" were noteworthy. Oscar de León Palacios, who directed the rural school at El Tejar in Chimaltenango, completely reorganized

the school. In time it became a social focal point for the community as well as the local center of learning. Livestock projects conducted at the school attracted considerable local interest and support. Eduardo Prado Ponce, who directed the rural school at San Andrés Itzapa, also in Chimaltenango, revamped the school in this community with the emphasis in instructional programs on agriculture.

Community interest and support as well as attendance of both children and adults increased many times over what it had been previously. Although the school for Indians in Sololá, directed by Ernesto Bienvenido Jiménez was slow in developing, a new school building was constructed, a garden completed, a gymnasium organized, and an area for livestock completed by early 1949. Within a year nearly 180 students were in attendance. This school plus those in El Tejar and San Andrés Itzapa were exemplary of what the Regional Rural Normal School had hoped to achieve, rural teachers and their schools responding to the needs and interests of their communities and gaining the direct support of the residents in the community.[68] In terms of what Antonio Goubaud Carrera and other indigenistas had been saying with respect to the needs of rural Indian Guatemala in education, these new rural schools were established and appeared to be operating in a context that reflected the indigenista's view of an educational system at the rural level that would teach relevant subjects and involve the entire Indian community.

The new rural schools were not the only institutions implemented

by the Arévalo regime to combat rural ignorance in Guatemala. Introduced into Guatemala in 1948 was the concept of rural school nuclei or los núcleos escolares campesinos. This format had been employed in Bolivia with noticeable success by the Inter-American Cooperative Educational Foundation. When Ernest E. Maes, who was instrumental in developing the system, was named director of the Inter-American Cooperative Educational Service in Guatemala, he soon undertook measures to bring this concept into Guatemalan education.[69]

The system of rural school nuclei consisted, as the name implied, of nuclear schools around which several other schools would be developed. The nuclear school was to be responsible for developing, directing, and coordinating the educational programs in the outlying institutions. Each nuclear school was to have a director whose responsibility was to oversee the entire system with the central or nuclear school to serve as a model for the others. On February 16, 1948, by official decree, the rural schools of Guatemala were to be reorganized along the lines of the nuclear school concept. With this legislation a rural school was defined broadly as any school in a locality whose inhabitants made a living from cultivating the land. The subjects to be emphasized in the núcleos escolares campesinos were civics, agriculture, personal hygiene, sanitation, and topics geared particularly to local needs, whatever these might be. Twenty such school systems were scheduled to begin operation and were to be the ultimate responsibility of the Minister of Public Education.[70] The depart-

ments in which these institutions were to be established were San Marcos, Quezaltenango, Huehuetenango, Totonicapán, El Quiché, Sololá, Chimaltenango, Sacatepéquez, Guatemala, Jalapa, Baja Verapaz, El Progreso, Santa Rosa, and Jutiapa. All were to have systems in operation by 1949. Although the goal of twenty such systems was not met, this concept was effectively introduced in the Indian departments of Totonicapán and Chimaltenango.[71]

The objectives of this new system of rural education were several and generally reflected many of the aspirations of the 1944 revolution. The basic goal was the improvement and the presentation of Guatemala's national culture in a progressive manner in every pueblo and aldea of the republic. Adult education was to be given equality in importance with primary education for children. Practicality was to be the fundamental guideline in setting up curricula for the schools. This represented a radical departure from the previously theoretical orientation in education. The school was to become a functional unit in every respect possible. It was to be an institution dedicated to solving the problems facing those living in a rural community.[72] To be given particular attention would be information on personal health, means of combating insects and disease prevention, improving the diet, and making better use of the agricultural products available. Both adults and children were to be cognizant of modern agricultural techniques, including the use of fertilizers, crop rotation, the use of new seeds, conservation, and ir-

rigation. The campesinos were to be encouraged to improve their housing, develop social groups, expand native crafts and develop talents along those lines, and work together in arriving at solutions to the economic problems confronting them. The basic arevalista orientation toward cooperative effort was to be encouraged in the schools as a means toward eventual modernization and integration.[73]

The establishment of núcleos escolares campesinos was generally received favorably by most Guatemalans. There were exceptions, however. For the untitled rural teacher to whom any official body represented the possibility of exploitation, the new system was looked upon with suspicion and mistrust. Few indeed had been the efforts in the past to supervise rural schools. Rural teachers had been left largely to their own devises. The new system meant change and supervision, both of which, as they were viewed, could threaten the already precarious security of the rural teacher. This approach did not include any specialized training for the teachers in a given department either through the Regional Rural Normal School, the Instituto Indígenista, or another government organization or institution.

In some Guatemalan communities the schools were seen with discontent and alarm. In Sanarate, El Progreso, two teachers intent upon bringing about rapid social change were physically threatened by the local populace and had to be removed from their posts. A similar situation occurred in San Lorenzo, Huehuetenango, forcing the temporary

closing of the school.[74] Although the núcleos escolares campesinos were suspected in some cases of being communistic or for being some mysterious clandestine organization whose intent was to disrupt the nature of things, they were generally well received throughout the fourteen departments and 385 communities where they were active. Some of the first núcleos escolares were given enthusiastic support by local residents, including those in Santa Cruz Balanya and San Andres Itzapa in Chimaltenango, and the aldeas of Chajbal, Piedra Parada and Ciénega Grande in the municipios of San Andrés Xecul, Santa Catarina Pinula and San José Pinula respectively, all in the department of Totonicapán.[75]

The entire system of the nuclear schools was beset with difficulties from the day it was founded. It was often misunderstood by local authorities who failed to give it their support, often feeling that it represented a threat to local authority. Occasionally the spirit of cooperation that was evident in the program's initial stages was forgotten as school teachers and inspectors from the Ministry of Public Education simply did not perform their duties. Many teachers were opposed to the idea of a renovation of rural education. On numerous occasions the populace of rural communities were not properly informed about the new programs and hence were skeptical of them as were local authorities who for decades had interfered with the schools in their respective spheres of influence.

The individual selected to be the director of a nuclear school system was faced with the supervision of a new type of school system which

would require considerable initiative and dedication on his part, facing, as he must, the probable opposition of various sectors in the local community. In nearly all of the núcleos escolares new methods and approaches to teaching were to be employed and subjects never before taught in rural schools were to be offered.[76] Beyond this, the entire program had to be absorbed by people who themselves were facing a myriad of difficulties which would in the end make school attendance a sacrifice.[77] Yet, given these obstacles, the system was initially successful as an institution whose aim was to integrate rural Guatemala. The núcleo escolar campesino was President Arévalo's chief educational institution for rural Guatemala and, as such, represented the first serious attempt to bring real education on a wide front to the predominantly Indian areas of Guatemala following the earlier efforts and successes of Griffith and the United States field staff and the Regional Rural Normal School at "La Alameda".

The credit for the establishment and development of rural education in Guatemala to a large extent belonged to the Inter-American Cooperative Educational Service. Its activities in Guatemala began with an active role in the Indian teachers conference held in Cobán in June of 1945. It had sponsored orientation courses for rural teachers in 1946, 1947 and 1948 and had played an important role in the operation of the Regional Rural Normal School at the finca "La Alameda" in Chimaltenango. It had also been active in the organization of the núcleos escolares cam-

pesinos. The concept as well as the system of nuclear schools was given official recognition on June 7, 1950 by government decree number 213, thus placing the system entirely under Guatemalan control.[78]

Arévalo also undertook reform in other areas of education. Recognizing at the outset of his presidency that ignorance represented a serious hurdle to integration, Arévalo, in May of 1946, recommended the use of cultural missions as a means of presenting a concept of national culture to rural Guatemalans. The task of these cultural missions which were to operate as a section within the executive branch of government, was to portray essentially a general concept of Guatemala as a national cultural entity to those in rural Guatemala who had not experienced any sustained exposure to education.

To be presented were topics dealing with the historical values of the nation, rights to be enjoyed by all citizens under the 1944 Constitution, the aims and desires of the Arévalo government, the theory and practice of general sanitation, child care, the construction of comfortable and sanitary housing, the avoidance of common factors causing diseases, modern methods and techniques of agriculture, presentation of the concept of intensive agriculture with the use of seeds, instruction in the methods of making toys, imparting general notions of Guatemalan history and geography, elementary arithmetic, vaccination for smallpox, introductory literacy training, and general information on economic improvement. Each cultural mission was to be composed of a titled school

teacher, an Army official, a last-year medical student, and an agricultural expert or perito agrícola.[79] Each mission was in all cases to adapt itself and its methods of presenting material to the needs and demands of the locality in which it was to operate. Representing a unique approach, the cultural missions were enthusiastically received throughout Guatemala.

The format that was pursued by the cultural missions and also in the literacy campaigns and in the núcleos escolares campesinos reflected President Arévalo's view and that of numerous indigenistas that the educational systems in Guatemala should be practical in their general orientation. They should provide the rural Guatemalan, both Indian and Ladino, with the ability to recognize the difficulties confronting him and the basic knowledge to cope with these difficulties and eventually overcome them.[80] Arévalo, however, felt a new design for Guatemalan schools would assist in meeting these goals. The escuela tipo federación, which was designed by Arevalo, was to be a school building constructed to serve not only the fundamental aims of education, but the needs of the community as well.

Five types of escuelas tipo federación were proposed, the chief factor being the size of the surrounding population which could benefit from its use. Each was to have facilities for recreation and an area for instruction in agriculture. For rural areas the escuela minima was recommended which would consist of three classrooms and living quarters for

the teacher. One hundred and five of these were to be constructed. For cabeceras municipales an escuela en cuadrante was proposed and would consist of an auditorium, four large classrooms, and an administrative office. These would be set up for use as adult education centers as well as for children.[81] The towns of Palencia, Villa Nueva, Mixco, and Santa Elena Barillas were the first areas to receive these facilities. For the cabeceras departamentales either an escuela en hemiciclo consisting of six classrooms or an escuela circular of eight classrooms, both with supportive facilities, was to be recommended. These were to be first constructed in Escuintla, Jalapa, Pamplona, and sections of Guatemala City. The largest, a rectangular school in which each classroom would have an adjacent patio and other facilities was the style recommended for construction in San Benito, Petén, and Barbeceva. The Escuela de Agricultura de Barcena was modeled on this format.[82]

The central idea behind the escuela tipo federación was the basic autonomy of the learning experience where students could reach individually, effectively, and pragmatically to their instructor and to the materials presented. Arévalo felt that with a physical environment that would be provided by the escuela tipo federación the learning experience for all students would be enriched. The lack of funds prevented this system from being employed throughout the republic during the tenure of the revolutionary governments on a large scale.[83]

During the Arévalo years education and educational facilities were

expanded considerably. In 1944 alone the capital city witnessed the establishment of the Instituto Centroamericano, the Instituto Normal Mixto Rafael Aqueche, and the Instituto Normal Mixto Nocturno. By the end of 1944 there were thirteen centers of secondary education operating in Guatemala City in which 1,861 students were enrolled. By 1954 the number of secondary schools had been increased to twenty-two and the total enrollment had increased to 7,098, an increase of 281 per cent. Although the number of Indian students attending secondary school were few in comparison to Ladino students, some did attend the Instituto Normal Mixto Nocturno during this period and the number would increase considerably in later years.[84]

To a considerable degree the increase in enrollment in secondary schools could be attributed to the success of evening schools such as the Instituto Normal Mixto Nocturno in Guatemala City and several vocational schools which were begun during the Arévalo period, Arévalo feeling that vocational education was critical for the Indian sector of Guatemala. Both types of schools were designed essentially to provide an education for those working adults who wished to attend school in the evenings and those who wished to receive some particular type of practical training.

While the Institutos that had been established in several areas of the republic including Quezaltenango and Retalhuleu besides Guatemala City offered a general secondary education, the vocational schools were de-

signed to prepare students for careers as accountants, cashiers, commercial secretaries, mechanics, carpenters, clerks, and other vocations. The first vocational schools outside of the capital were established in Quezaltenango and Retalhuleu where the attendance of Indian students was much greater than in the capital. With the assistance of UNESCO and the Inter-American Cooperative Educational Service, the vocational schools enjoyed a marked success. In 1944 ten such schools were in operation with a total enrollment of 2,460 students. A decade later the number of schools had increased by seventy per cent and the enrollment had increased by ninety-seven per cent.[85]

The problems facing the nationwide development of a vocational system were several. The wide-spread poverty characteristic of much of the republic, the uncertain markets, low salaries, and the difficulties encountered in finding employment were factors which inhibited the development of these schools trhoughout many areas of Guatemala.

Begun also during the Arévalo years was a system of schools called centros industriales consolidados which were dedicated to providing training largely to school children and young adults in various manual activities such as sewing, cooking, gardening, and numerous other activities. Eighteen such centers were in operation in Guatemala City in 1949 with others located in Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, Santa Cruz del Quiché, San Pedro Sacatepéquez, Mazatenango, Suchitepéquez, and Zacapa.[86] Indian women were seen attending these schools in record num-

bers. Enthusiastically received, the centros industriales consolidados received the support of a variety of indigenistas including David Vela and Antonio Goubaud Carrera and others who collectively viewed the schools as centers wherein Indian students could be trained in subject areas that would benefit them most immediately, and afford them the opportunity to learn how to better cope with their daily problems.

Beyond the realms of rural, secondary and vocational education, higher education received attention during the Arévalo years. Released from the repression of the ubiquistas, the University of San Carlos again became a center of academic pursuits and was expanded. The School of Social Service which opened in May of 1949 was, indeed, a departure from the traditional in Guatemala. The concept of social service was new to the Guatemalan educational experience. The new curriculum included courses in social dynamics, social assistance, anthropology, sociology, medicine, psychology, community organization, and related topics.[87] Although the effects of the new school would not be felt until years later when its first graduate began to take an active part in the economy and the society of the republic, another institution had been created that would be concerned with the integration and the social development of Guatemala's Indians. The problems facing the Indian groups and their culture in general were from the outset a basic part of the curriculum of the School of Social Service. In President Arévalo's view, the social worker trained at the School of Social Service would

have the potential of being able to function as an agent of integration as well as assistance to the Guatemalan Indians.

To encourage and coordinate scholarly activity of an anthropological nature as well as to promote the Indian facet of Guatemala's culture, the Instituto de Antropología e Historia was created on February 23, 1946 and modeled after its sister organization in Mexico City.[88] The basic organization of the Instituto and the role it would play in Guatemala during the first few years of its operation were in a large sense because of the influence and efforts of David Vela. His long association with indigenista scholars in Mexico and with the Instituto de Antropología e Historia in Mexico provided the impetus, scholarly and otherwise, for its initial organization.[89] The Instituto was charged with the administration and the upgrading of the nation's museums, the classification of artifacts, the supervision and protection of monuments and the protection of the nation's archeological and native cultural past.[90]

The Instituto's first accomplishments of considerable importance were the reorganization of the Museum of Archeology and Ethnology in Guatemala City and the creation of the Museo Colonial in Antigua. In cooperative efforts with the Instituto Indígenista, the Instituto de Antropología e Historia played an important role in classifying ethnological information on Guatemala's many Indian groups including clothing, language variations, and customs. One of their chief efforts in 1950 was the initial archeological investigations of Kaminal Juyu.[91]

The Instituto, throughout the Arévalo period, made available to Guatemalan students of all ages information on various facets of the rich Indian heritage of the republic through its publication of its journal, Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, and its displays of Mayan artifacts. As David Vela would comment years later, the Instituto de Antropología e Historia during this period operated as a center where indigenista thought could be exchanged and where, through various activities, indigenistas could do battle with the idea that the Indian culture of Guatemala as manifested in the republic's Indian population was a detriment to national development. The Instituto was instrumental during these years in presenting the Indian culture and heritage of Guatemala as the republic's richest common denominator of human experience.[92] The Instituto was basically supportive of indigenismo, as it was manifested by the Instituto Indígenista and throughout the Arévalo and Arbenz periods remained dedicated to this persuasion.

During Juan Jose Arévalo's presidential term many innovations and, in many respects, revolutionary approaches were undertaken in the field of education. For the first time in decades an attempt had been made to create an effective system of rural education. Through the literacy campaigns, the Regional Rural Normal School at "La Alameda" and copies of it elsewhere, the escolares campesinos and numerous changes in the nation's educational systems including the establishment of vocational schools, it was hoped that at least in this sector the Indians of Guatema-

la could be integrated. Certainly indigenista in their orientation, the arevalista educational programs had as their foremost goal the incorporation of the Indians as well as providing them with a general education.

Through these educational systems the Indians could be placed in contact with other groups in the republic, particularly the Ladino, and eventually would be able to participate in the national economy by consuming more and producing more. They would also be in a position to understand the social and political goals and alternatives of the nation as a whole and to participate in and enjoy the national life. Concurrent with this point of view was the realization that once the Indian had been exposed effectively to national educational programs and once he had favorably responded, the net result would be a breaking down of the traditional cultural and social barriers that for generations had kept him apart from the Ladino.

Hopefully, the Indian's passive resistance to Ladino dominance could be altered to participation at all levels economically and socially. In this sense economic and cultural development which were the ultimate goals behind many of Arévalo's programs were thus linked to educational development. The rural educational systems initiated by the Arévalo regime sought to erase the past dependence upon traditional forms of education and unrelated curricula and attempted to make the rural school and other schools reflect the elements in the Indian's life style

and the factors in his environment and culture about which he was concerned. A substantial effort was made also in providing properly trained teachers to staff these institutions.

The new educational programs and institutions of the Arévalo regime were initially quite successful given the fact that so many hurdles had to be overcome. Unlike more homogeneous nations where education could be described mainly as a function of imparting a national culture, Guatemalan educators were faced with the necessity of overcoming cultural barriers that had been judiciously guarded for generations. The education to be offered to the Indians had to be renovative in nature. The concept of a national culture first had to be presented, a culture in which all Guatemalans belonged, both Indian and Ladino.

Beyond this, however, numerous other difficulties had to be faced. The Indian's fears that a new experience might in some way upset his precarious existence economically and in other respects were very real indeed and this feeling had been reinforced for generations. The arevalista educational programs meant acculturation and social, political, and economic change. Yet this alteration had to be achieved in a democratic manner and in such a way that the totality of the Guatemalan experience would not be destroyed. Ladino resistance as well as Indian passivity were real factors that threatened the success of the new educational programs of the Arévalo regime. That notable advances were made was a credit to all who were concerned. Indigenismo had taken

the form of new educational institutions which were operating to eventually integrate the Indians of Guatemala and as subsequent years would indicate, the willingness of President Arévalo and many others to try new approaches to the Indian problem in Guatemala would have a lasting effect.

## NOTES

## CHAPTER VII

[1]Ramón A. Salazar, Historia del desenvolvimiento intelectual de Guatemala, Vol. I (Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1950), pp. 32-40.

[2]Miguel García Granados, Episodios nacionales (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1926), pp. 5-8.

[3]Ernesto Bienvenido Jiménez G., La educación rural en Guatemala (Guatemala: Editorial "José de Pineda Ibarra," 1967), pp. 20-21.

[4]Ramón A. Salazar, Hombres de la independencia, Manuel José Arce (Guatemala: Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1952), p. 77.

[5]Emilio Vásquez, "Nuevo significado del maestro rural," América indígena, IV (enero, 1944), p. 73.

[6]Jesus Carranza, Algunos datos o referencias para la bibliografía del benemérito general Justo Rufino Barrios (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1930), p. 38; Casimiro D. Rubio, Barrios a través de la historia (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1935), pp. 154-56.

[7]Guatemala, Decreto Gubernativo No. 241, septiembre 6, 1879; Guatemala, Acuerdo Gubernativo de febrero 9, 1880; Guatemala, Acuerdo Gubernativo de enero 4, 1881.

[8]Bienvenido Jiménez G., La educación rural en Guatemala, pp. 58-68.

[9]Guatemala, Decreto Gubernativo No. 2412, julio 25, 1940.

[10]Bienvenido Jiménez G., La educación rural en Guatemala, pp. 58-68; William J. Griffith, "A Recent Attempt at Educational Cooperation Between the United States and Guatemala," Middle American Research Records, Vol. I, No. 12 (May 15, 1949), p. 173.

[11]Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, "Teoría y práctica de la educación indigena," Revista mexicana de sociología (mayo-agosto, 1954), pp. 225-30; Statistics compiled by Ovidio Soto in his work La educación en Centro

América, as well as those available in the Archives of the Instituto Indíginista Nacional Guatemalteca, demonstrated that during the Arévalo years greater numbers of people received literacy training than ever before. Yet, during this same period, the percentage rates of illiteracy seldom showed any change or even an increase. This can be explained by the extremely high population increase recorded during these years which statistically indicated little or no advance in terms of percentages on the problem of illiteracy in Guatemala.

[12]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca," Discurso del Senor Ministro de Educación," Boletín del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, I (octubre-diciembre, 1945), pp. 13-14.

[13]Norma Baldizón de Castro Conde, "Los problemas ecucativas nacionales," El maestro (septiembre, 1964), pp. 144-48; Rubén E. Reina, "Continuidad de la cultura indígena en una comunidad guatemalteca," Cuadernos del seminario de integración social guatemalteca, No. 4 (Guatemala: Editorial "José de Pineda Ibarra," 1959), pp. 7-11.

[14]Carlos González Orellana, Historia de la educación en Guatemala (Mexico: B. Costa-Amic, 1960), p. 338.

[15]Roberto Escobar Sanín, "Los métodos educativos y el desarrollo de la comunidad," Universidad de Antioquia, No. 175 (octubre-diciembre, 1969), p. 715.

[16]Cesar Godoy Urrutia, Analfabetismo en América (Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1952), p. 31.

[17]José Carlos María Tegui, Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana (Lima: Amanta, 1959), pp. 37-38; Martin S. Stabb, In Quest of Destiny (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), pp. 111-18.

[18]Godoy Urrutia, Analfabetismo en América, p. 60.

[19]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Informe del censo de la república de 1940," (Typewritten statistical extracts with narrative), pp. 3-5.

[20]Griffith, "A Recent Attempt at Educational Cooperation Between the United States and Guatemala," pp. 174-75.

[21]Manuel Chavarría Flores, Política educacional de Guatemala (Guatemala: Imprenta Universitaria, 1951), pp. 1, 5, 6-52.

[22]Ibid., pp. 9-11.

[23]Alberto Arreaga, "Algunas notas en la educación del indígena," Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca (Typewritten report dated marzo 1, 1951).

[24]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Decreto 20 de la Junta Revolucionaria de la República," pp. 1-2.

[25]Manuel Chavarría Flores, "Un problema nacional, analfabetismo" (Guatemala: Manuscrito presentada al Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, 1951), pp. 59-61.

[26]Ibid., p. 62; Organizations involved in the first literacy campaigns included the University of San Carlos, the Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Ensenanza, the Club Leones, the Boy Scouts Guatemaltecoa, the Corporación de Contadores, the Club Rotario, the Gran Logia de Guatemala, the Sociedad Teosófica, the Asociación de Muchachas Guias, the Asociación General de Empleados del Estado, the Instituto Guatemalteco-Americano, the Cámara de Comercio, the Asociación de Estudiantes Universitarios, the Asociación de Maestros Católicos, the Club Guatemala, the Instituto Indígenista Nacional, the Confederación Nacional Campesina, the Asociación General de Agricultores, and the Confederación General de Trabajadores, to name a few.

[27]Guatemala, "Informe del comité nacional del analfabetismo" (enero, 1946), Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, pp. 1-2.

[28]Chavarría Flores, Un problema nacional, pp. 70, 90.

[29]Guatemala, "Informe del comité nacional del analfabetismo" (julio 8, 1947), Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, pp. 1-3.

[30]Guatemala, Decreto Legislativo No. 361, abril 14, 1947.

[31]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Actividades de la loteria chica pro-alfabetización," (Report sent to Instituto Indígenista from Ministerio de Educación Publica, no date noted), p. 1; El Imparcial, junio 22, 1947.

[32]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Informe del comité nacional del analfabetismo, la tercera campaña" (Report sent to Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca at conclusion of third illiteracy campaign, no date noted); Chavarría Flores, Un problema nacional, p. 90.

[33]Anibal Buitrón, "Problemas economico-sociales de la educación en América latina," América indígena, XX (julio, 1960), p. 166.

[34]Chaverría Flores, Un problema nacional, p. 92.

[35]Joaquín Noval, Juan de Dios Rosales, and Alberto Arreaga, "Alfabetización de lenguas indígenas guatemaltecas" (enero 25, 1951), Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, (Typewritten manuscript), p. 3.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Chaverría Flores, Un problema nacional, p. 92.

[38]Hector Guerra Martínez, "Un concepto nuevo de la alfabetización de adultos: Ideas generales de un problema nacional," Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, (Handwritten manuscript, no date noted), pp. 1-5.

[39]Guatemala, "Informe del departamento de alfabetización" (enero 8, 1949), pp. 1-2.

[40]Noval, Dios Rosales, and Arreaga, "Alfabetización de lenguas indígenas guatemaltecas," p. 4.

[41]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Informe del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca" (febrero, 1951), pp. 1-4.

[42]Guatemala, Departamento de Alfabetización, "Informe del departamento de alfabetización," Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca (no date noted), p. 2.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Interview, April 1, 1971, Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet of Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[46]Ballizón de Castro Conde, "Los problemas educativos nacionales," pp. 147-48.

[47]Guatemala, Departamento de Alfabetización, "Gastos" (no date noted), p. 3.

[48]Interview, April 1, 1971, Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet, Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[49]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Ley de escalafón del magistero nacional," noviembre 29, 1947.

[50]Canuto Ocana, La carta política del ciudadano Juan José Arévalo (Guatemala: Editorial San Antonio, 1965), p. 103.

[51]Amy Elizabeth Jensen, Guatemala: A Historical Survey, pp. 147-55.

[52]Bienvenido Jiménez G., La educación rural en Guatemala, pp. 89-94.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid., pp. 90-92.

[55]Ibid., pp. 92-96.

[56]Griffith, "A Recent Attempt at Educational Cooperation Between the United States and Guatemala," p. 180.

[57]Bienvenido Jiménez G., La educación rural en Guatemala, pp. 98-99.

[58]Griffith, "A Recent Attempt at Educational Cooperation Between the United States and Guatemala," p. 181.

[59]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Investigaciones del campo: la región cakchiquel," enero, 1947, (Typewritten report), pp. 1-2.

[60]Bienvenido Jiménez G., La educación rural en Guatemala, p. 98.

[61]Griffith, "A Recent Attempt at Educational Cooperation Between the United States and Guatemala," p. 186.

[62]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Investigaciones del campo: Chimaltenango," p. 19 (no date).

[63]Interview, March 3, 1971, Carlos Leonardo Loyo, Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[64]Griffith, "A Recent Attempt at Educational Cooperation Between the United States and Guatemala," pp. 118-22.

[65]Bienvenido Jiménez G., La educación rural en Guatemala, pp. 133-36.

[66]Ibid., p. 122.

[67]Guatemala, Acuerdo Gubernativo No. 185, julio 27, 1945.

[68]Bienvenido Jiménez G., La educación rural en Guatemala, pp. 133-36.

[69]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Informe oficial del departamento de educación pública: las nucleos escolares campesinos," febrero 21, 1948.

[70]Guatemala, Acuerdo del Presidente de la República, febrero 16, 1948, Diario de Centro América, marzo 5, 1949.

[71]Bienvenido Jiménez G., La educación rural en Guatemala, pp. 148-49.

[72]Guatemala, Acuerdo del Presidente de la República, febrero 16, 1948, Diario de Centro América, marzo 5, 1949.

[73]Guatemala, Acuerdo Gubernativo No. 233, noviembre 14, 1946.

[74]Bienvenido Jiménez G., La educación rural en Guatemala, pp. 163-68.

[75]González Orellana, Historia de la educación en Guatemala, p. 360.

[76]Interview, April 1, 1971, Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet, Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[77]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Informe a departamento de educación pública: Esbozo de los principales problemas que presenta el desarrollo economico-social de Guatemala," febrero, 1950.

[78]Guatemala, Decreto Gubernativo No. 213, junio 7, 1950.

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[80]Marie-Berthe Dion, Las ideas sociales y politicas de Arévalo (Santiago, Chile: Prensa Latinoamericano, 1958), pp. 10-17, 189-91; Ocana, La carta política del ciudadano Juan José Arévalo, pp. 79-84.

[81]Juan José Arévalo, ¿Qué significan las escuelas federación? (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1949), pp. 5-17.

[82]Bienvenido Jiménez G., La educación rural en Guatemala, pp. 204-30.

[83]Interview, April 1, 1971, Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet, Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[84]González Orellana, Historia de educación en Guatemala, pp. 382-83, 349-50, 376.

[85]Ibid., pp. 382-83.

[86]Ibid., p. 388.

[87]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "La escuela del servicio social," julio 7, 1949.

[88]El Imparcial, febrero 24, 1946.

[89]Interview, December 24, 1970, Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet, Carlos Leonardo Loyo, and Elsa Arévalo Martinez, Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[90]Ibid.

[91]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Trabajos y actividades del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca," Boletín indígenista, XII (marzo, 1952), pp. 40-41.

[92]David Vela, "Discurso al Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca," diciembre 24, 1970.

# CHAPTER VIII

# OTHER ASPECTS OF INDIGENISMO DURING THE AREVALO YEARS

From the cries of social reform which erupted with the successful outcome of the 1944 revolution in Guatemala until the departure of Juan José Arévalo from the presidency in 1951, indigenismo in Guatemala experienced a growth in content as well as achievement that would have important effects upon the republic as a whole for years to come. In this period indigenismo developed essentially from an attitude of protest against the injustice continually faced by the Indian to a complex movement involving social, political, and economic programs of various types. Significantly, it had been given an institutional status with the creation of the Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca. This institution, more than any other single factor, was responsible for this growth.

Throughout the Arévalo years the Instituto Indígenista was a center of activity on many fronts. To complement decree number 426 which gave official recognition to Indian tejidos, the Instituto in 1947 continued and expanded its classifications of these textiles and was largely instrumental during this period in making the production of tejidos an industry of considerable importance to Indian families so engaged throughout the republic.[1] For the first time in generations many Indians experienced the presence of an income beyond the point of a meager subsistence as

prices were often guaranteed by either the government or by force of a cooperative encouraged by the government. Special labels applied to the textiles assured the prospective buyer of their authenticity and made it difficult for commercially made copies to appear under the guise of Indian tejidos.[2]

During this period the Instituto Indígenista, in cooperation with other government agencies, was able to end a religious and sociological problem that had persisted for several generations. Decree 444 recognized for the first time the validity before the law of Indian marriages. Prior to this marriages not consummated by a priest or a civil judge were not legally recognized. Whether wishing to avoid the sometimes excessive fee demanded by a priest or a judge or whether wishing simply to remain apart from the Ladinos or whatever the reason, most Indian couples since colonial times did not legally consummate their marriages. Decree 444 recognized as valid a variety of Indian marriage ceremonies that had been performed since pre-Hispanic times.[3]

Throughout the Arévalo years a topic of concern to the Guatemalan government and particularly to the Instituto Indígenista was the general health of rural Guatemala. In 1947 the Instituto conducted an extensive analysis of dietary conditions and food consumption in eleven Indian communities. The results of this study which were presented to the United Nations indicated that rural Guatemala was in desperate need

of sanitation and medical facilities and medical personnel. On April 1, the Instituto founded a free medical clinic in Panajachel in cooperation with the Dirección General de Asistencia Social and the Ministry of Public Health. Also in the area of health and sanitation, the Instituto developed a program of practical instruction on methods of maintaining personal health and appropriate sanitary conditions in rural Indian communities. Although this program was never developed along the extensive lines recommended by the Instituto primarily because of the lack of funds, its findings and a good portion of its recommendations were incorporated into various educational programs including, eventually, the rural school curricula.[4]

Responding to a variety of stimuli and painfully aware of the breadth of the task facing those dedicated to Indian integration, the Instituto in February of 1948 began a training course for those who would be going into rural Guatemala as members of mobile cultural missions. Those selected for this task, generally speaking, were rural school teachers. The course emphasized native languages and the sociological modes that would be encountered in rural Indian communities. The session lasted approximately six weeks with six hours of instruction every other day. To assist the missionaries the Instituto prepared materials of various types, including four motion pictures dealing with sanitation and hygiene and the translation of the sound portions into several Indian languages. Personnel from the Instituto also revised and corrected the

Quiché version of the Rabinal Achi of Brasseur de Bourbourg for use by the missionaries. Intended as a preparatory and introductory course, the training program was claimed a marked success.[5]

The Instituto Indigenista, as it was visualized by Goubaud Carrera while he was director, would devote a considerable portion of its energies to studying the Indians of rural Guatemala and their immediate circumstances.[6] Included as an essential part of this concept were the Indian languages. After several months of preparation and research in various rural areas, the Instituto in 1947 completed several studies of the Cakchiquel language. From these findings texts and a phonetic alphabet were prepared and used in one of the literacy campaigns conducted by the government. Taken as a whole, the body of literature since colonial times which dealt with Indian languages in Guatemala was impressive in its scholarship and its range of information.

The studies, however, were contradictory to the extent that by 1949 considerable confusion had developed over the proposed alphabets for the various languages. Several scholars had been active in this area and their findings had differed enough to result in difficulties in such areas as the preparation of educational materials.[7] Which were the alphabets to be used? Were the sound patterns proposed by the colonial scholars correct or did the research findings of several modern-day scholars hold the keys to understanding these native languages? In an effort to bring some sense of order to this potential

chaos, the Instituto recommended to the Ministry of Public Education the convening of a meeting of linguists who could discuss the topic and after careful deliberations arrive at a standard official alphabet for each Indian language. Such a meeting was convened on November 21, 1949. The result was the preparation of alphabets for the Quiché, Cakchiquel, Tzutuhil, Mam, Kanjobal, Jacalteca, Aguacateca, Chuj, Kekchi, Pocomchi, Chorti, and Pocomam languages, all using basically the same phonetic scheme. Ultimately several of these were to be approved by the Arévalo government as official alphabets. The Instituto then translated into Indian languages governmental decrees relating to Indians, the National Anthem, the Labor Code, and numerous lessons for use in the nation's primary and secondary schools.[8] It must be concluded that the Instituto Indigenista performed an important service in the development of indigenismo. Now a level of communication which was acceptable and understandable to both Indian and non-Indian could be undertaken. With this development inter-cultural communication on the level of a common denominator was made possible.

During the Arévalo years, however, the Instituto did not limit its activities solely to the production of language studies. By March of 1947 it had either completed or was engaged in a study of Chichicastenango to determine the nature and scope of rural educational needs there, a socio-economic study of Momostenango to prepare a program for the encouragement of the manufacture of tejidos in the

area and a general study of the Mam linguistic region in the republic including specifically the community of San Antonio Sacatepéquez in the Department of San Marcos.[9]

Beginning in 1948 the Instituto Indigenista cooperated in various capacities with other agencies of the Guatemalan government concerned with the Indian problem, including the Department of Rural Education, the Ministry of Public Education, and the Ministry of Public Health, as well as with numerous international organizations. The Instituto's role in many of these associations was that of providing socio-economic information about rural Indian populations. Largely a result of these cooperative efforts, studies were completed on some twenty communities during 1948 with particular attention given to rural needs and the steps that would need to be taken to satisfy these needs.[10] Also during the year several economic studies were undertaken such as ceramics in Chinautla, floriculture in San Juan Sacatepéquez, and bread production in Comalapa as possible local industries to be developed.[11] Other Indian communities studied extensively by the Instituto were Choarrancho, Parramos, San Antonio Aguas Calientes, and Santa Catarina Barahona.

Also during this period the Instituto took an active role in advising the Census Commission on means of obtaining data from rural Indians. Goubaud Carrera suggested a rural canvas as the best means of acquiring data rather than census forms to which few Guatemalans

could respond. Goubaud Carrera and the Instituto recommended a special course for census takers to acquaint them with the language spoken in their assigned areas and to avoid adversely affecting the native inhabitants or cause them to be fearful of the visitors.[12]

By the close of 1949 the Instituto, continuing in the aim to provide some socio-economic information on the rural Indian communities of the republic, concluded studies in some thirty-seven communities.[13] Given special attention in these studies and in others to follow were Indian crafts, living standards, labor conditions, farm size, and crop distribution. Special studies were also concluded of pottery production in Totonicapán, egg production in San Juan Sacatepéquez, and credit available to Indians in Momostenango, Sololá, and Concepción Chiquirichapa.[14] Over one hundred rural areas were studied to determine which ones would benefit most from a local literacy campaign.[15]

The investigations completed by the Instituto Indigenista during 1949 and 1950 were the results of extensive efforts undertaken by the technical staff of the Instituto. When the Instituto first began its activities, the only member who had any appreciable background in anthropology and anthropological investigatory techniques was the director, Antonio Goubaud Carrera. Through his dedication and persistence, the technical staff was transformed, collectively speaking, into an effective organ of investigation. Included on the staff were two Indians, J. Martin Ordóñes Ch. and Rosalió Saquic C., Cakchiquel and Quiché

respectively, who directed investigations in these two linguistic regions, Lorenzo Castañeda, expert on the Kanjobal languages and Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet, the director of the investigatory staff and the supervisor of all field projects. These individuals, through their close ties with the various Indian groups in Guatemala and the training they received from Goubaud Carrera, were able to produce not only detailed studies of rural communities, but studies generally unaffected by such diverse factors as mistrust, fear, suspicion, and untruth often noticeable in studies conducted by Ladinos.[16]

The year 1951, which would witness a change in political power, also was a period of change and stress for Guatemalan indigenismo with the death of Goubaud Carrera, the first director of the Instituto Indigenista Nacional Guatemalteca and one of the republic's most profound and consistent spokesmen of the indigenista cause.[17] Probably no other individual during the Arévalo years had worked as tirelessly for a solution to the Indian problem. Through his efforts, indigenismo was institutionalized and the Indian problem was brought into focus as the republic's main social and economic problem. Through his urgings and the influence of several others, including David Vela, the integration of the Indian became a focal point for arevalismo and for President Arévalo. Directing the Instituto until December of 1949 when he became the Guatemalan ambassador to the United States, he was the most vocal expositor and popularizer of indigenismo in Guatemala as well as abroad. An

example of efficiency and dedication to the indigenista cause, his death in March of 1951 was an unexpected blow to the progress and development of the indigenista persuasion.[18]

Although Goubaud Carrera's death was soberly received by the staff of the Instituto, his plans for future studies were completed. Based upon a series of field investigations conducted in San Pedro Soloma, Aguacatán, Zunil, San Gabriel, San Andrés Villa Seca, Agua Blanca, Alopa, Livingston, San Benito, and San Luís Jilotepeque, a comprehensive report on rural credit was submitted in 1951 to various sectors of the Guatemalan government.[19] The report concluded that rural credit could constitute an important step toward achieving the economic integration of the Indian agriculturalist in Guatemala.

During this period the Archives and Library of the Instituto were reorganized with the assistance and direction of Richard Adams, a noted anthropologist with considerable research experience in Guatemala. Adams also conducted a series of seminars for the small staff of the Instituto on means of gathering information, the techniques that could be employed in anthropological field investigations, the evaluation and interpretation of data, the use of informants and other pertinent topics. A result of this effort by Adams was a refinement in the approach utilized by the technical staff in its field work.[20]

During this period the Instituto also cooperated with various agencies of the Guatemalan government in studying means of soil conservation in

of maintaining a work force and those who advocated stiffer punishments for offenses committed by Indians. Other contentions expressed by this declaration which spoke indirectly of some of the ills of Guatemalan society were: equal pay for equal work, the right of all citizens to receive social security, the right to join unions for the protection of their interests, the right to a fair and just wage, the right to leisure, the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well being of himself and his family, and the right to gain an education.[22]

Elucidating directly many of the denials that had affected the Indians of Guatemala for decades, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights indirectly brought international attention to the Indian problem by expressing the facets of the problem and urging that barriers to the fundamental rights of all human beings be discarded. Viewing the declaration as an important statement which reflected many of their goals, the Instituto Indigenista and the Guatemalan government published the declaration in several Indian languages and undertook what amounted to a publicity campaign to make known this document throughout the republic. To the extent that indigenismo advocated that Indians be given the same rights of citizenship as Ladinos and Whites, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in explaining these same rights brought attention internationally and in the United Nations to the Indian problem and indigenismo.[23]

Throughout its tenure, the Arévalo government, often with near

herculean efforts, made notable advances in the field of education with the development of a rural school system and extensive literacy campaigns. Its dedication to the indigenista movement had been nurtured and expanded, dynamically speaking, by the Instituto Indigenista Nacional Guatemalteca. Its efforts, however, were not confined only to these sectors of commitment. In the area of labor a most notable advance was to be recorded during the Arévalo years.

During the administrations of Jorge Ubico, nearly all social and economic organizations had been either curtailed or severely restricted. Labor organizations were discouraged and eventually disallowed. With the 1944 revolution, however, much of this human energy which had been dormant for over fourteen years finally germinated and blossomed into a level of activity that the republic had not witnessed in any previous era. The 1945 Constitution which defined labor as both an individual right and a social obligation and recognized the right of association for labor provided the juridic basis for this renaissance. Cooperativism as a fundamental belief of arevalismo and a prescription of many indigenistas was being encouraged in both public and private circles as a valid and promising approach to the solution of economic problems.

Labor followed in this wave of cooperativism.[24] On December 15, 1944, the Confederación de Trabajadores de Guatemala, (CTG), was founded with Gumercindo Tejada as its secretary-general. By 1945 the Confederación de Trabajadores de America Latina, CTAL, had

representatives operating in Guatemala and the Federación Sindical de Guatemala, FSG, had been organized as well as numerous local unions and associations. One of the first labor associations to be formed was the Sindicato de Empresa de Trabajadores de la Compañía Agrícola de Guatemala, SET-CAG, comprised of employees working on the United Fruit Company plantation at Tiquisate, Escuintla.[25] With the post-Ubico atmosphere of freedom, labor groups slowly began to form and organize in many sectors of economic activity and again become politically and economically active.

Guatemala's greatest need, however, as far as labor in general was concerned, was a comprehensive labor code or a body of labor legislation. The advances made on behalf of labor during the 1920's which had recognized the right of workers to form unions and had granted them the right to strike, had placed government in the position of being responsible for the general welfare of the worker. These rights and responsibilities had been promptly discarded by the Ubico regime.

Although many of the exploitative laws and practices used against labor by Ubico were quickly abrogated by the revolutionary junta and some labor laws had been passed, there still remained a considerable gap in this sector of Guatemalan jurisprudence. There existed no legal framework wherein a worker's relations with his employer and any related legal implications was officially explained or denied. The political confusion of such a situation became evident by September of

1946 when President Arévalo was confronted with a series of strikes. Workers in ice cream and textile factories joined electrical workers in striking for higher wages. On September 27, 1946, laborers on the banana plantations at Tiquisate went out on strike.[26] Facing rapid increases in the cost of living which was part of the post war inflationary spiral, and wishing to utilize their newly found freedom of collective expression, workers in the last months of 1946 and early in 1947 began to demand higher wages. On the heels of their demands was the fact that in Guatemala, commodity prices had increased over one hundred and five per cent from the levels recorded in 1936. As the workers had been tied to non-negotiable fixed salaries for some eight years, many earning what amounted to subsistence wages, their desire to exercise their reinstated rights was understandable.

In the ensuing months, strikes were recorded by the railroad employees, soap factory workers in Mixco, and finca workers on the fincas La Candelaria, El Pilar, and Montúfar. By February of 1947, a sizable percentage of the Indian agricultural workers in the Department of Sacatepéquez, distressed by the inflationary conditions facing them, were loudly threatening a massive strike for higher wages and when applicable, lower rents. Indian workers from El Pilar explained to the secretary-general of the Partido Acción Revolucionario, José Manuel Fortuny, that they had been promised for several months a pay raise to fifteen centavos a day but had not received it. Their old

wage of five centavos a day, they explained, was simply not sufficient.[27]

In response to these worsening economic conditions and the urgings of President Arévalo, the Guatemalan legislature, after months of argument and debate, passed the long awaited Código de Trabajo on May 1, 1947. Designed as a document to deal comprehensively with all questions involving labor in one form or another and related topics, the main thrust of the code was that of providing a juridic basis and a guide for relations between employers and their employees. The first section of the code, after defining in detail a patron and a laborer in the legal sense, went on to prohibit the sale of drugs and alcoholic beverages by commercial establishments at places of employment. In the communication of orders to employees, languages foreign to them were not to be used. All communication in work situations was to be conducted in either Spanish or one of the Indian tongues commonly spoken in Guatemala.[28] These two stipulations sought to bring to an end two avenues or means which had been used by unscrupulous employers for decades in exploiting their workers

In an effort to prevent an influx of foreign laborers, particularly from mestizo El Salvador, the code specified that native Guatemalans were to constitute ninety per cent of every large work force and collectively were to receive eighty-five per cent of the total wages paid to salaried employees or employees paid hourly in the course of a month. Any exceptions to this stipulation had to be authorized by the

Guatemalan government. Any discrimination because of race, religion, political persuasion, or economic circumstances was prohibited in all public agencies concerned with welfare, education, or labor. Particularly important in this section of the code was that a prospective employee could not be denied employment because he was Indian.[29]

In the formulation of the Código de Trabajo, one of the goals sought by the legislators and many interested parties was an adequate definition of a labor contract and what it involved. The code explained that a labor contract had to be a mutual agreement whether between individuals or groups or a combination of the two. Contracts were to be spelled out in detail as to what types of tasks were to be performed by the employees and what wages were to be received over a given period of time. It affirmed that a labor contract could only be verbal when it involved agricultural labor, domestic service or temporary employment for a period not to exceed seventy days or where the wages earned would be less than one hundred quetzales. All other contracts were to be concluded in writing and were to specify names, addresses, ages, civil status, nationalities, place, types of work, the work site, hours, salary, benefits, holidays, and the duration of the agreement. Any other information deemed pertinent by government officials was to be included in the contract.[30] Should a work agreement be reached between an employer and a laborer wherein the employee had to travel over fifteen kilometers to and from work daily, the cost of transportation

was to be borne by the employer.

To facilitate labor negotiations involving large groups of people, the Código established a series of regulations regarding what was termed collective contracts, defining these as agreements between one or more sindicatos or unions and one or more employers. In cases where a contract was to be included involving several sindicatos, the union having the largest representation was to become the bargaining agent for all the laborers. All collective pacts were to relate in detail the length of time of the agreement, the place, job classifications, vacations, hours, minimum salaries, as well as wage scales, rest periods, and any supplementary information deemed pertinent to the normal operations of the laborers concerned. A collective contract could not be declared as valid unless approved by two-thirds of the work force. All contracts whether collective or not had to receive the approval of the Ministerio de Trabajo y Prevision Social and had to be made public.[31]

Under the Código de Trabajo all organizations or individuals employing ten or more employees were to be required to establish a series of work regulations. These were to be both general and technical in nature. These regulations were to provide at all times for safe work conditions as well as a sanitary and healthful environment. Given the fact that workmen's compensation had not been an important factor in the history of Guatemalan labor, these regulations were viewed as fundamental by officials of the Ministry of Labor. Besides rules in-

volving safety, these regulations were to provide for rest periods, to explain in detail all salary schedules, provide for disciplinary dispositions and a classification of workers, and provide for a particular time when and place where wages would be paid.[32]

Under the Código de Trabajo employers were obliged to function in a way quite new to the Guatemalan labor experience. In January of each year all employers were to be required to report to the Ministry of Labor the gross earnings of all employees, their job assignments, and other related information. The task of the Ministry, once this information had been received, was to determine that no worker was paid less for the same task as another and that fair treatment prevailed, the philosophy, briefly speaking, being equal pay for equal work. With the new code all work sites were to be regularly inspected by government officials and work schedules were to be altered with no loss in pay if the employee wished to attend school or participate in a literacy program. Overall, the patron was expected to treat his workers well, pay them a fair and equitable wage, and maintain an environment that would not be injurious to them. Always subject to government perusal, employers, for the first time in Guatemalan history, were to be subject to periodic inspections to guarantee to the workers that undue exploitation would not occur and that employers would remain aware of their responsibilities to their employees.[33]

The thrust of obligatory regulations and expressed responsibilities

was not entirely directed toward the employers. Employees had obligations as well. They were expected to perform the tasks asked of them by the employer to the best of their abilities. Materials not utilized by the laborers in the completion of their duties were to be returned to the employer. Good behavior was to be observed at all times and technical secrets were to be guarded by all. Safety measures and work regulations were to be continually respected. Any infractions of these general rules and guidelines could result in disciplinary action. Workers would not be protected by the Ministry of Labor if they left a shift without just cause, appeared drugged or intoxicated while on the job, spread political propaganda during working hours or used illegal or illicit means to injure the employer or his property.[34]

Prior to the formulation of the work code, it seemed that only an employer could terminate a work situation. Often laborers, particularly finca workers, would be apprehended by local officials if they left their place of employment. With the Código de Trabajo, however, an entire set of regulations was established for the termination of labor contracts. Generally either party could suspend the contract if the other failed in observing or carrying out his responsibilities. If the employer decided to relocate, he could be held liable for indemnity payments to his workers if they could not relocate as well. In the event of a strike, the contract could be suspended if demands of the workers were considered to be unjust by the Ministry of Labor.[35]

Any contract could be immediately suspended in the event that the employer failed to pay his employees or refused to observe other obligations called for in the contract. The employer could immediately terminate a worker's contract with no obligations for indemnity payments if the employee was guilty of some immoral act or caused injury to the employer or any of his fellow workers. These regulations, more than any previous body or set of regulations or legislation, gave to the Guatemalan laborer a right of self-determination and control over his own destiny.

To bring to an end one traditionally popular avenue of exploitation, the company store, the Código de Trabajo stipulated a series of regulations regarding the payment of salaries and hiring policies. All salaries were to be paid fully in legal tender and not in kind. The only exception to this was to be campesinos who could receive up to thirty per cent of their salaries in supplies or items of necessity such as food. This regulation was designed to prevent workers from being paid with items they could not use or currencies they could not exchange. It was hoped that this regulation would forever end this corrosive practice which had been utilized for decades throughout rural Guatemala, especially in the payment of Indian colonos.

Salaries were also to be paid directly to the worker or a member of his immediate family and only at the work site. Also under the Work Code scales were established for the garnishing of wages. Any-

one earning less than thirty quetzales a month was not subject to this regulation except under circumstances declared fair by the Ministry of Labor. The worker's own tools could not be embargoed at any time. Designed to protect the worker from undue exploitation, this regulation, it was hoped, would sound the death knell for institutions such as debt peonage and involuntary indebtedness. A basic premise was the right of every Indian worker to a salary that would allow him to provide the necessities for his family. Every employer was to maintain minimum salary scales which were to be approved by the Ministry of Labor and any contract which failed to pay at least the minimum wage for a given job was to be abrogated by the government.[36]

The Código de Trabajo, besides attempting to set general guidelines on salaries, sought to accomplish the same with vacations and general legislation regarding work periods. The work period was not to be more than eight hours per day or forty-eight hours per week. No laborer was to be expected to work more than sixteen hours without a substantial rest period or undertake any job that could be dangerous to his or her general health. For every six days of work each laborer was to be granted a day off with pay. All laborers were to be granted January 1, Holy Thursday and Friday, May 1, September 15, October 20, and December 25 as paid holidays. After one year of employment all workers in commercial establishments were to receive fifteen days of vacation. Those in industrial concerns were to receive ten days and

agricultural workers five days of vacation. The accumulation of vacation time was prohibited. With these propositions the right of the worker to free time without interference from his employer was guaranteed.[37]

The Código de Trabajo also attempted to protect women and children from exploitation by employers. As Indian workers had often been without free time because of the never ending demands of unscrupulous employers, particularly on fincas, women and children were to be likewise protected under the new code in this area and others. All tasks to be completed by minors or women were to be adjusted to correspond to their physical, intellectual and moral state of being. All workers under sixteen years of age and women were not to engage in activities considered to be dangerous by the Ministry of Labor. Evening work for women and minors was prohibited except for nurses and domestic servants and in cases so authorized by the Ministry of Labor. All establishments, whether industrial or commercial, employing minors and women were to be vigorously inspected by government officials. Children were not to work in the evenings or in cantinas unless their employment was deemed an economic necessity by the Inspección General de Trabajo or unless their activity was part of an apprenticeship program or an educational requirement. Special compensation for pregnant women was established by the Código. Designed to prevent the exploitation of this sector of the labor force, these regulations consti-

tuted a milestone in the history of Guatemalan labor legislation.[38]

Important to Indian women who worked in various domestic capacities as cooks, maids and baby sitters was the fact that they would also be protected under the code. They were to be paid in cash. Health certificates were to be regularly maintained. They were to be guaranteed daily eight hours of uninterrupted rest and two hours daily for personal care and meals. Although domestic workers would eventually be able to apply for complete medical coverage through the I. G. S. S., Instituto Guatemalteco de Seguridad Social, the employer was liable for providing all medical care relating to short term illnesses and for providing medicines to cure illnesses involving a recovery period of over one week.[39]

The Work Code also devoted some attention to sindicatos. In all instances they were to be democratic in their modus operandi and legally were to be considered as an individual capable of entering into agreements and contracts and possessing rights. Twenty or more individuals were required to form a sindicato and all sindicatos were to be primarily concerned with the economic well-being of their members. All were to be approved by the Guatemalan government which was to be informed at all times of the group's membership and activities, intended or otherwise, its general organization and policies, and its economic holdings, if any. Defining a strike by a sindicato as the peaceful suspension of work activities with the aim of economic improvement for the workers, the Código de Trabajo discouraged the use of violence in solving labor

disputes and disallowed any strike that would disrupt any public services.

To enforce the numerous provisions explained in the Código de Trabajo and to assure that the laborers of Guatemala would be protected from discriminatory practices, the Inspección General de Trabajo was created and invested with the power to inspect periodically all work sites and industrial and commercial places of business and make recommendations if punitive actions or measures were deemed appropriate. All labor conflicts were to be reviewed by this agency and inspectors were empowered to render decisions that hopefully would solve the problems. Any labor contract requiring a specific judicial solution was to be referred to a Tribunal de Trabajo y Previsión Social which was to be staffed by one or more judges who would render the final decision in any labor disputes. To assist in solving collective labor disputes, a system of conciliation and arbitration tribunals were created whose basic aim was to maintain harmonious conditions between labor and management.[40] To operate in conjunction with the above agencies, a court of appeals, la sala de apelaciones de trabajo y previsión social, was established, with the decisions of this body to be final, whether legal or consultative in character. With this machinery the Arévalo government hoped to bring about some sense of order to the often confusing and uncertain area of labor relations. Most importantly, however, the Código provided a lengthy series of measures to protect the workers of Guatemala under

the auspices of law as no other previous legislation had been able to accomplish.

Although the Código de Trabajo would be amended on several occasions by the Guatemalan Congress before the end of the revolutionary decade, and although certain of its provisions may have been impractical for the extensive application to the Guatemalan experience, it represented, nevertheless, the first attempt to create a comprehensive body of labor legislation which would not only protect the long denied rights of the Guatemalan worker, but would also affirm the basic rights of the employers of the republic. For all Guatemalan workers, whether Indian or Ladino, it granted the right of self-determination and provided for agencies to protect this right and others. For the first time in decades, the Indian laborer, under the stipulations of the Código de Trabajo, was given a basis from which he could legally negotiate with his employer on issues such as wages, work conditions, safety standards and other conditions that had been so completely disregarded and forgotten or never enforced under previous presidential administrations. The extent of the effect of the Código de Trabajo upon the rural Indian laborers of Guatemala depended upon the Arbenz regime. The precedent, however, had been established under the Arévalo administration. The Código de Trabajo had established as a matter of judicial record some of the basic rights of the Indian and Ladino laborers of Guatemala.

Although the Indian might be granted judicial rights, more was

needed to alter his traditional pattern of denial. As many indigenista writers had argued, the Indian was in desperate need of financial and technical assistance whether it be channeled to him directly through the rapidly expanding system of cooperatives or indirectly through other means. Established in 1948 and beginning operations in February of 1949, the Instituto Nacional de Fomento de la Producción, INFOP, was to provide assistance on a decentralized basis to agriculturalists, especially those who would agree to diversify their products or change to methods of intensive agriculture. To be given particular attention were those agriculturalists, small and large, who would undertake measures to increase their yield in food crops or initiate programs that would make available more jobs for the Guatemalan labor market.

The administrators of INFOP were allowed a wide path of operation with few restrictions being placed upon them by the Congress. Included in the list of acceptable activities which could receive the assistance of INFOP were electrification projects, irrigation projects, internal colonization schemes, and any program or proposal that could aid in economic distribution. Also proposals for the construction of low income housing, the organization of labor colonies, and potable water projects were given favorable consideration. Municipalities wishing to expand the public services in a given area could apply for financial assistance from INFOP.[41]

INFOP's range of activity was, indeed, diversified during the

Arévalo years and would so continue under Jacobo Arbenz. In 1949 INFOP devoted a good deal of effort toward encouraging the natal cotton industry in Guatemala. In less than ten months it had generated nearly 132,000 quetzales via loans for this industry. It had also suspended the activities of the American Chicle Company and the Wrigley Import Company and had encouraged the formation of domestic chicle cooperatives. It also in 1949 began encouraging the development of a domestic sugar cane industry and before the close of the Arévalo period would be active in urging agriculturalists to convert their energies to the production of wheat, citronella, yuca, and medicinal plants.

Although INFOP's operations would be expanded under the Arbenz regime and geared more toward the small producer, its record for its first two years of activity was impressive. In 1949 it had loaned nearly five million quetzales to Guatemalan businesses and industries including nearly one-half million each to agriculture and livestock raising, 1.3 million to various industries, and over 60,000 quetzales to low-income housing. These amounts would remain approximately the same during 1950. Although INFOP during the Arévalo years benefited the Ladino businessmen more than the Indian, this would be altered to a degree during the Arbenz era. Although not of immediate benefit on any appreciable level to the Indian laborer directly prior to 1951, the machinery had been established, nevertheless, and such would be the result in later years.[42]

To alter Guatemalan society and improve the lot of the masses, new institutions were needed. The issue of social security had long been a factor of concern in Guatemala. There was no system of workmen's compensation before 1944, the nation's hospital system was inadequate at best, and social welfare in the institutionalized sense was unknown. Facing the rather frustrating fact that Guatemala was an underdeveloped country which did not possess the financial base for any extensive commitment in this area, the Arévalo government, nevertheless, decided to embark upon a program of social security. In 1946 the Instituto Guatemalteco de Seguridad Social was created as an autonomous institution of the national government.

The aims of the IGSS were to provide protection and assistance to Guatemalan workers in the areas of industrial accidents, illnesses, maternity, common illness, occupational illnesses, and old age. The Instituto aimed to provide protection to orphans, widows, and the physically handicapped. As the republic was without funds or extensive facilities during much of the Arévalo term, the programs of the IGSS by necessity had to be modest ones. By January of 1948 all workers were to be covered by a program of workmen's compensation and by August of 1949 they were to be given accident protection. This was to be funded by contributions and payments from employers engaging the services of five or more employees, the state and the workers themselves. After threats, cajolery, and publicity campaigns to encourage

employers to sign up for workmen's compensation, all of which was largely ineffective, a law was passed requiring employers to register for this program.

In the area of workmen's compensation the IGSS by the close of the Arévalo period was operating in eleven of the republic's twenty-two departments. The Escuela Superior de Servicio Social at the University of San Carlos opened in May of 1949. It included a section concerned with the prevention of work-related diseases and accidents. Although the programs of the IGSS were at best cursory, given the depth of the problem in Guatemala, the IGSS, however, represented the undertaking for the first time in Guatemala of a nationwide commitment to the physical well-being of all Guatemalans where all could receive attention. The fundamental importance of the IGSS would become truly apparent in the years to follow.[43]

During Arévalo's presidency the Instituto Indígenista had been active in many respects in making indigenismo a practical reality in Guatemala. Yet its contribution to the dynamics of the indigenista persuasion went beyond these limits. Thgough its relations with the Instituto Indígenista Interamericano and other international agencies, it was instrumental in redefining, solidifying, and clarifying indigenismo. Indeed, from 1945 to 1951 indigenismo gained in stature to the point that it became both a social and cultural point of view of national importance and one which had been applied on a practical basis in many areas of the republic

through educational institutions, literacy campaigns, the development of local industries, and the cooperative movement. Also, the nature of the Indian problem, which was really a series of problems, came to be better understood.

On the issue of what indigenismo should really be concerned about, opion was quite diverse and often contradictory. As one writer indicated, legislative programs designed to remedy the misery facing the Indian were often not based upon any knowledge of the Indian or the world in which he lived. Unfortunately, legislators had thought to redeem the Indian by applying measures applicable only to themselves and their society. Guatemala prior to 1944, unlike Mexico, had not experienced a national revolution in which Indian rights and Indian participation were issues. Indeed, in Mexico an aftermath of the revolution was the development of the Indian problem as a theme of national attention in government programs as well as in art, literature, and folklore.[44] An experience similar to this did not occur until 1944 in Guatemala. However, by 1950 it had become evident that the Indian problem in the republic could not be considered apart from other national problems.[45] At the least, it was an important problem if not the most serious one that could be found in many areas of the republic.

Indigenismo in Guatemala during the Arévalo presidency developed as it did in other areas of Latin America to mean integration that

was a lack, a lack of health and sanitation, of education, of capital, of food, and a lack of wealth producing capacity, all closely interrelated.[49] In his opinion, the Indian must be integrated into the national experience. Indigenismo was seen by him not as an anti-Hispanic attempt to obliterate or lessen the persistent effects of the conquest or to isolate the Indian from national society, but rather to integrate him effectively into the national pattern of existence. The Indian was a definite part of the Guatemalan historical experience and was not to be considered inferior in any biological or physical sense. His culture was the most fundamental factor in the republic's past.[50]

Although Juan Comas, long a publicist for the indigenista cause throughout Latin America, could argue that the Indian was the basis for future progress and advance in the Indian areas of the hemisphere, the question remained as to how such goals could be achieved.[51] How should the republics of Latin America treat the Indian problem? That the problem would not be solved in a single whirlwind effort was clearly evident and there were as many prescriptions as facets to the entire problem. An editorial in Del Liberal Progresista on February 9, 1944 suggested that the problem could only be eliminated by first winning the confidence of the Indian and then terminating the traditional avenues of exploitation. It recommended an educational campaign geared toward dispelling the disdain and hostility of the Ladino toward the Indian.[52] Others including Roberto MacLean Estenos and Alfonso Caso, both Mexicans, and

Epaminonda Quintana, a Guatemalan, seemed to concentrate their attention upon the premise that the Indian problem was largely an economic one.

Arévalo, however, was able to overcome many of these challenges and institute several fundamental changes in the republic's experience that, at the time, affected the nation's Indian population and would continue to do so in the years to follow. Through the 1945 Constitution and the Código de Trabajo, the Indian was granted legal rights he had never experienced before for any length of time. Through the establishment of a rural school system and a rigorous revamping of the nation's educational systems as well as the conduct of several nationwide literacy campaigns and the activities of several mobile cultural missions, the rural Indian was put into contact with educational experiences designed not only to interest him but be of ultimate benefit to him.

The Indian problem was being given extensive consideration by an active and dedicated Instituto Indigenista. Localities assumed an active and participatory role, often for the first time, in politics as mayors of municipalities were selected by popular vote rather than by the national government and local revenues were fixed by the municipalities. In doing this many Indian communities began to experience political activity for the first time. In the areas of public health, low-income housing, child welfare, agricultural cooperatives, agricultural experimental stations which functioned, transportation and communication, programs

were undertaken which channeled assistance to the Indians and promised their eventual integration. The cause of indigenismo was given life during the Arévalo years and as subsequent events would indicate, this trend would continue in the second of the two revolutionary governments, that of Jacobo Arbenz.

## NOTES

## CHAPTER VIII

[1]Guatemala, "Decreto No. 426 del Congreso de la República," September 19, 1947.

[2]David Vela, "Discurso al Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca," December 24, 1970. (Historian in attendance.)

[3]Guatemala, "Decreto No. 444 del Congreso de la República," Memorias del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca (1947), pp. 1-3.

[4]Ibid., p. 4.

[5]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Informe del Instituto Indigenista Nacional Guatemalteca, 1948," Boletín indígenista (1949), p. 59.

[6]Interview, April 1, 1971, Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet, Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Informe del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, 1949," Boletín indígenista (March, 1950), p. 61.

[9]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Trabajos y actividades del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, 1947," Informe al Ministro de Educación Pública (February, 1948), pp. 2-5.

[10]These communities included the following: Santa María de Jesus (Sacatepéquez); San Raymundo (Guatemala); Santa Catarina Ixtahuacan, Santa Clara La Laguna, Santa María Visitación and Santa Lucía Utatlán (Sololá); Chimique and Chiche (El Quiche); San Miguel Chicaj (Baja Verapaz); Cabrican, Cajola, Huitan, Concepción Chiquirichapa, San Martín Sacatepéquez, Siquila, (Quezaltenango); San Mateo, Ixtatan, San Sebastián Coatau and San Miguel Acatán (Huehuetenango); and Palen (Escuintla).

[11]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Informe del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, 1948," Boletín indígenista (1949), p. 61.

[12]Antonio Goubaud Carrera, "Investigaciones del campo," (unpublished report), Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca (1947).

[13]The communities investigated for socio-economic information included the following: Quiche speaking region: Rabinal, Cubulco, Joyabaj, San Andrés Sajcabaja, San Pedro Jocopilas, San Antonio Ilotenango, Sacapulas, Totonicapán, Cantou, Panquix (Totonicapán), San Andrés Xecul, San Francisco El Alto, Santa María Chiquimula, Santa Lucía La Reforma, Almolonge, Cantel, Zanil and Olintepeque: Cakchiquel speaking region: Santa María Canque; Kekchi region: Cahabón; Mam region: San Francisco La Unión, Palestina, Comitancillo, San Cristóbal Cucho, Tejutla, Tajamulco, Ixchiquan, Concepción Tutuapa, Tacana, San Rafael Petzal and Todos Santos Cuchumatan; Xanjobal region: San Juan Ixcoy, San Pedro Soloma, San Rafael La Independencia and Santa Cruz Barillas; Jacalteca region: Jacaltenango, Concepción Huehuetenango and San Antonio Huista.

[14]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Informe del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, 1949," Boletín indígenista (marzo, 1950), p. 61.

[15]Socio-economic studies were also completed in the following communities: Tectitau, San Ildefonso Iztahuacan, Colotenango, San Gaspar Ixchil, San Sebastián Huehuetenango, San Pablo Ostuncalco, San Pedro Necta, Sipacapa, Escuipulas, Palo Gordo, San Miguel Ixtahuacan, San José Ojetenan, Sibinal and Malacatancilo. In the Quiche region: San Cristóbal Totonicapán, Nahuala, Cunen, San Mateo, Zacualpa; In the Cakchiquel region: Patzicía, San Andrés Itzapa; In the Ixil region: Chajul, Nebaj and Cotzal; In the Uspanteca region: San Miguel Uspantau.

[16]Interview, April 1, 1970, Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet, Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[17]David Vela, "Prólogo," Antonio Goubaud Carrera (ed.), Indígenismo en Guatemala, p. 15.

[18]David Vela, "Discurso al Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, December 24, 1970; Interview, April 1, 1970, Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet, Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[19]Yearly and monthly family income tax was reviewed and studied in: San José, Chacaya, Santa Lucía Utatlan, San Pedro La Laguna (Sololá), San Antonio Aguas Calientes (Sacatepéquez); San Cristóbal Totonicapau and San Andrés Xecul (Totonicapán); Comalapa (Chimal-

tenango); and Sibinal (San Marcos). During 1950 the Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, in cooperation with INFOP, completed economic studies in the following communities: San Andrés Xecul, San Raymundo, Chinautla, Santo Domingo Xenacoj, San Antonio Aguas Calientes, Palin, Joyabaj, Tejutla, Cahabon, Ixchiguan, Chinique, San Juan Cotzal, San Pedro Carcha, San Cabuleo, Santa Apolonia, San José Paquel, Chiquimulilla, San Marcos La Laguna and Santa Lucía Utatlán.

The communities studied to determine whether or not a local wool industry could be developed included the following: Concepción San Andrés Semetabaj, Santo Tómas Chichicastenango, Lemoa, Santa Rosa Chujuyub, Santa Cruz del Quiche, Chimique, Chique, Zacualpa, Joyalbaj, San Martín Sacutepéquez, Palestina, San Mateo, San Miguel Siguila, Cajola, Sibilia, Huitan, Cacricau, San C rlos Sija, Nebaj, Cunen, Sacapulas, San Miguel Uspantan, San Francisco La Unión, Olintepeque, San Andrés Xecul, Santa María Chiquimula, San Francisco El Alto, San Antonio Ulotenango, Santa Lucía La Reforma, Cantel, Totonicapán, Zunil, Tecpau Guatemala and Patzan.

[20]Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Informe del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, 1950," Boletín indígenista (marzo, 1951), pp. 59-62; Interview, April 1, 1970, Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet, Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[21]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Trabajos, actividades y estudios del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, 1949-1951" (diciembre, 1951).

[22]"Universal Declaration of Human Rights," Boletín indígenista (diciembre, 1949), pp. 307-15.

[23]Interview, April 1, 1971, Francisco Rodríguez Rouanet, Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[24]Amy Elizabeth Jensen, Guatemala: A Historical Survey (New York: Exposition Press, 1955), pp. 131, 134-35, 140-41; Kalman H. Silvert, Un estudio de gobierno: Guatemala.

[25]Brian Murphy, "The Stunted Growth of Campesino Organizations," Richard N. Adams, Crucifixion by Power (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970), p. 443.

[26]El Imparcial (septiembre 28-29, 1946).

[27]El Imparcial (enero 2, 1947).

[28]Guatemala, Código de Trabajo y sus reformas, pp. 1-16.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[31]Ibid., pp. 16-26.

[32]Interview, November 20, 1970, Carlos Leonardo Loyo, Daniel Aragón, Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[33]Guatemala, Código de Trabajo y sus reformas, pp. 28-34.

[34]Ibid., p. 44

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "Notas del nuevo Código de Trabajo" (julio, 1947), pp. 2-4.

[39]Interview, November 20, 1970, Carlos Leonardo Loyo, Daniel Aragón, Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca.

[40]Guatemala, Código de Trabajo y sus reformas, pp. 130-33.

[41]Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, "INFOP como entidad del desarrollo," (Typewritten document with notations, no date), p. 3.

[42]Ibid., pp. 2-4.

[43]Carlos Gehlert Mata, "Salud y seguridad social," El reto del desarrollo en Guatemala (Guatemala: Editorial Financiera, 1970), ed. Nelson Amaro, p. 344.

[44]Robert Redfield, "El indio en México," Revista mexicana de sociología (1942), pp. 103-120.

[45]Robert C. Jones, "El hemisferio occidental recuerda sus primeros colonos," Anales de la sociedad de geografía e historia, XXIV (septiembre-diciembre, 1949), pp. 302-303.

[46]Julian H. Steward, "Acculturation and the Indian Problem," América indígena, III (octubre, 1943), p. 328.

[47]Antonio García, "Bases de una politica indígena," América indígena, V (abril, 1945), pp. 174-75; Laura Thompson, "Personality and Government," América indígena, X (enero, 1950), pp. 7-11.

[48]Fabian S. Ymeri, "Antropología, cultura autoctona de Guatemala y civilización maya," América indígena (Reprint, Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca), p. 116.

[49]Rolando Collado Ardon, "Salud pública e indígenismo," Paper presented to the IX Congreso Indígenista Interamericano. (Typewritten copy, Archivo del Instituto Indígenista Nacional Guatemalteca, no date).

[50]Ana Biro de Stern, "The Reevaluation of the American Aborigine," América indígena, XXIII (julio, 1958), p. 245; Adolfo de Hostos, "Valor de la cultura indígena," América indígena, III (enero, 1943), pp. 49-53.

[51]Juan Comas, "Revindicación del indio y lo indio," América indígena, XI (abril, 1951), p. 129.

[52]"El problema indígena," Del Liberal Progresista, Guatemala City, Guatemala (febrero 9, 1944).

# CHAPTER IX

# THE RADICALIZATION AND DENOUEMENT OF INDIGENISMO IN GUATEMALA

The last months of Juan José Arévalo's tenure as president of Guatemala was a period replete with political and economic uncertainty. The programs and policies of the Arévalo government in the areas of education, labor and agriculture and those relating to other facets of the Indian problem promised to bring to Guatemala a new era in social and economic relationships which could alter considerably the traditional structure of society throughout the republic. The Indian now could become an active participant on the national scene. Beyond this, however, increasingly unfriendly relations with the United States resulting in the recalling of ambassadors and a near clash of arms in 1949 over the hotly debated question of Belize further complicated the political scene in the republic. With these uncertainties, many Guatemalans were looking forward to the upcoming presidential elections as an avenue of restoration of political stability in the republic.[1]

Toward the end of Arévalo's presidential term, two strong candidates for the presidency had emerged. Colonel Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, the Minister of Defense, and Colonel Francisco Javier Arana, the army chief of staff, were both attempting to establish bases of political and financial support. Both had been leaders in the revolutionary junta that had successfully deposed Ubico in 1944 and both had been active in domes-

tic politics since and were well known. As head of the junta and author of some of its early social legislation, Arana had a popular following and was being openly supported by the Guatemalan army. Having the reputation of being astute both as a military commander and as a political leader, Arana seemed most likely to succeed Arévalo.[2] President Arévalo, however, began supporting his Minister of Defense when Arana withdrew his support of many of Arévalo's policies as being too liberal.[3]

The rivalry of the two presidential candidates continued until July 18, 1949, when Arana was killed near Lake Amatitlán. As Arbenz was being supported by leftists and communists and had prior knowledge of Arana's intention of going to Lake Amatitlán to locate an arms cache, public opinion was quick to attach responsibility for this act of violence to Arbenz and Arévalo when subsequent investigation indicated that leftist elements were responsible for Arana's death.[4] An attempt by Arana supporters to oust Arevalo on July 18, 1949 failed.[5] The following day Arévalo closed all newspapers and radio stations and all government officials openly opposing him were jailed. Pro-Arana army officers were dismissed. These measures along with the suspension of constitutional guarantees, however, did not ease political tensions. By July of 1950 a general strike ensued and in the series of riots which followed, several people were killed and leading members of the opposition were jailed.[6] Jorge García Granados and Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes, two

opponents of Arbenz, went into seclusion.[7] Arevalo had managed to remain in power and clear the field for Arbenz to succeed him.

Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, born in Quezaltenango in 1913 of Swiss and Ladino parents, graduated from the National Polytecnic Institute during the Ubico era, having earned the highest academic marks in the school's history. Upon graduation, however, he faced few, if any, prospects for an active and rewarding career. Salaries for army officers were miserably low and chances for rapid promotion were few. In 1939 he married María Cristina Villanova of a wealthy landowning family in El Salvador.[8] Through this connection he had become wealthy himself by 1950, occasionally utilizing his influence as Minister of Defense to add to his own financial interests. By virtue of his wealth, his leadership during the 1944 revolution, and his tenure as Minister of Defense, he had achieved a position of political prominence.

His campaign for the presidency was intense as he attempted to gain support from all sectors of the Guatemalan electorate.[9] The celebration in Guatemala City on October 20, 1950 to commenorate the revolution was evidence of his ability as a campaigner. Over 300,000 Indians in their traditional clothing were brought by truck and other means to the capital by Arbenz supporters to participate in the proceedings. The celebration, however, rather than being the traditional outpouring of joy over the end of the Ubico period, became a cleverly engineered advertising presentation for the sometimes dogmatic and withdrawn can-

didate. In an address before a record crowd of some 60,000 people at the newly opened Olympic City Stadium, Arbenz promised that if elected he would diligently pursue and implement the many social, economic, and educational programs begun by Arévalo and would bring social and economic justice to the republic for all of its citizens In the elections which followed in November of 1950, Arbenz emerged easily as the victor, defeating his opponents by substantial margins.[10]

To the extent that he was able to do so given the unusual circumstances of his administration and the numerous difficulties with which he was forced to deal, Jacobo Arbenz remained faithful to the indigenista orientation of his predecessor. Many of the educational programs begun by Arévalo were continued. Arbenz actively encouraged in particular Arévalo's views on the rural school. Existing rural schools were expanded and new ones constructed and staffed at record rates. By 1953 adult educational facilities had been established and were in operation in some 286 locations throughout the republic including thirty-one in Quezaltenango, twenty-three in Totonicapán, forty-eight in Sololá, nine in El Quiché, and eleven in Huehuetenango, these dealing largely with Indian adults. They also operated as rural primary schools during daylight hours for Indian children.[11] Between 1951 and 1953, thirty-five new rural schools were constructed and in operation, most of these being located in predominantly Indian communities.[12] Besides emphasizing basic educational skills, these new schools dealt exten-

sively with topics in sanitation and agriculture. The raising of livestock such as pigs, chickens, rabbits, and sheep, and the raising of food crops including corn, wheat, beans and potatoes formed the core of the practical curricula in these new schools.[13] This emphasis reflected the government's wish to expand the domestic production of livestock and basic foodstuffs.

Arbenz gave particular encouragement to the Instituto Indigenista. During his presidency the Instituto translated into the major Indian languages of the republic nearly every piece of pertinent social legislation relating to the Indians and their circumstances. Members of the technical staff of the Instituto continued in their studies of Indian languages and by 1952 produced detailed dictionaries for the Quiché, Mam, and Tzutuhil languages. Local speech variants were studied in a number of communities and areas including Cobán, Chisec, Languin, Carcha, Cahabon, Chahal, Senahu, Panzos and El Estor.[14] To complement Arbenz's emphasis upon rural education the Instituto Indigenista made available to prospective rural school teachers and local officials courses emphasizing oral communication in several of the Indian languages, particularly Quiché, Cakchiquel and Mam. Ethnographic investigations utilizing the community study approach of the Arévalo period were continued with several being completed.[15]

The Instituto Indigenista's most important contributions during this period consisted of its efforts, together with other agencies of the Gua-

temalan government, to complete numerous tasks begun during the Arévalo regime. The Instituto Indigenista cooperated with other agencies to conduct extensive surveys of the Indian village economy and suggested various means that could be employed in improving the situation economically for the Indian campesino. The surveys concluded that low interest personal loans, crop rotation, and programs of technical assistance would be most advantageous to the Indian agriculturalist. Programs encouraging agricultural diversification were put into operation. Working together with other government agencies the Instituto Indigenista was able to bring into being potable water systems in several dozen communities including Chamelco, Cobán and others in the departments of Chimaltenango, San Marcos, Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz and Huehuetenango.[16]

During the Arbenz period the government established the first firmly based credit system for Indian agriculturalists. Loans were administered through the Banco Agrícola which, as it was designed, was to function in a manner similar to the Mexican Agricultural Bank established in 1915[17] Before initiating this credit system a study had been completed by the Instituto Indigenista and other agencies of the Guatemalan government to determine not only the obstacles such a program would be confronted with but how such a program could be effectively implemented on a nationwide basis. The report concluded that credit itself was virtually an unknown factor as far as the Indian

was concerned. It indicated that before any system of credit could be implemented successfully, the traditional passiveness of the Indian and his mistrust of Ladino institutions would have to be minimized. The Indian would have to be convinced that a loan was not simply another means of exploitation.

The study recognized that the banking institutions in the republic would be required to alter their time-honored practice of reviewing closely one's collateral prior to the processing of a loan as the Indian was generally without sufficient collateral. Loans, therefore, would have to be granted upon one's potential.[18] The new credit systems, said Juan de Dios Rosales, must be cognizant enough of the actual reality of the Indian agriculturalist to be able to channel funds into those areas of the economy that could best and most quickly be of direct and immediate benefit to him.[19] As Dios Rosales and others concluded, credit officials must consider such factors as land use, means of production, the use of seeds and fertilizers, means of transportation of crops to market centers, and the effect of an impending loan on the Indian family unit. A report to President Arbenz in 1952 concluded that an extensive credit system could be successful if the government expanded existing programs designed to improve the overall rural situation.[20] Yet the very nature of the agrarian situation itself made the institution of a credit system virtually impossible.

What was the agrarian reality in Guatemala in 1950? Indigenistas

for decades had argued that the basic problem facing the Indian was land. Individuals such as Manuel Gamio, Miguel León Portilla, Carlos Mariátegui and in Guatemala David Vela, Antonio Goubaud Carrera and others had suggested that the root of the Indian problem was the agrarian problem. Too much land was owned by too few. A landed oligarchy owned and controlled the bulk of the arable land in the republic. Virtually every major sector of the republic's agricultural production was raised on large fincas or granjas and coffee and bananas were produced on large latifundias, generally owned by the landed oligarchy.[21] During the Arbenz period the supplies of meat and dairy products were inadequate in volume as well as in quality as sick or diseased animals and the absence of modern technology reduced production potentials. Other crops including beans, corn and rice were not produced in quantities sufficient to meet the demand.

In addition to this situation which involved, generally speaking, a lack of both quantity and quality, the Indian's means of agricultural production was uneconomical. Because of his illiteracy and the minute size of his plot of land, technological innovation as it might be applied to this sector of the agricultural economy, was difficult if not impossible. The Indian's constant cultivation of corn, his staple crop, and his use of poor agricultural techniques severely reduced the value of his land for future use. Because of this unchanging situation which had been unaffected by the liberal reforms of the nineteenth century or some

of the abortive attempts at modernization in the twentieth century, the Indian agriculturalist in Guatemala had developed a healthy mistrust of the Ladino and remained unresponsive to overtures of assistance.[22] Because of his meager economic circumstances, the Indian resorted to seasonal migrations from his highland milpa to the large coastal fincas and latifundias in order to earn enough cash to purchase what foodstuffs he was unable to produce himself and buy needed manufactured items. This seasonal absence from his highland milpa plus other factors operating at this time made for an agrarian situation that would not be easily adaptable to technological changes or, in the case of the early Arbenz period, the establishment of a system of rural credit.[23]

What was needed in Guatemala, said individuals such as Rafael Piedra Santa and Francisco Rubio, was a scientific and a technologically sound agrarian reform that would alter the republic's rural economy and its systems of rural agriculture.[24] Agrarian reform, however, was not something that could easily be accomplished by legislation. If accompanied by satellite programs in the areas of credit, technology and education, it could alter the entire economic and social structure of the republic. A sustained agrarian reform program could bring about a decrease in the vast gaps in consumption and income throughout the republic. Social integration would be encouraged.[25] Needless to say, the prospect of a wide sweeping agrarian reform program which

would be designed particularly to benefit the small Indian agriculturalist, an aim of several Guatemalan indigenistas, was not to be enthusiastically embraced by the landed elite of the republic. The prospect of a successful agrarian reform program, however, was faced with what amounted to a geographical hurdle. Essentially three systems of agriculture had developed in Guatemala: the subsistence pattern practiced on the highland plateau; the semi-subsistence style utilized by agriculturalists in the East; and the large finca or latifundia operation located in the coastal zones.[26] Any intended agrarian reform program would have to take into account each of these systems.

In the altiplano region located to the north and east of Guatemala City and including sections of the Departments of Guatemala, Jalapa, and Chiquimula, the land holdings of any given family were often so small, properly described as minifundia, that the chance of an agricultural surplus was only a dream. Subsistence forming was the pattern generally practiced. With the exception of only a few areas where a particular crop was raised in sufficient quantity for sale in an adjacent market, most yields were consumed by the family unit concerned. Containing some sixty-five per cent of the agriculturally active population of the country, the highlands had seldom received the attention of capitalists as the production levels were so low. Many families, being unable to produce enough from their own plots to survive, were forced to migrate to the coastal regions in hopes of finding seasonal employment on a large finca whereby enough cash could be saved to

purchase needed foodstuffs.

This pattern of migration had further discouraged investment in the altiplano area. Corn, the major crop grown in the highlands, was rarely produced in quantities large enough to meet the demands for consumption. Deviations from this picture were infrequent indeed, except in a few areas where the raising of sheep provided the wool for small textile producers.[27] Utilizing an agricultural technology which was limited to the machete and the slash and burn method of clearing and fertilizing land, the Indian agriculturalist of the altiplano was tied to a system of production which was nearly an exact copy of that used by his pre-Hispanic ancestors and barely provided the minimum necessities for survival of any given family unit.[28]

In the East, a region comprising the Departments of Jutiapa, Santa Rosa, Zacapa, El Progreso, Chiquimula, and portions of Guatemala, Jalapa, and Baja Verapaz, the agricultural production pattern was again basically subsistence farming. As in the altiplano, given family units seldom possessed enough land for their own needs and were forced to rent extra land or resort to seasonal migrations in search of employment. The Ladino agriculturalists in this region, however, were often able to raise some domestic animals which provided a small surplus unlike most Indian farmers of the highlands.[29] Their production pattern was, therefore, semi-subsistence in the sense that such products as eggs and milk could occasionally be sold.

Although the East was best suited for the production of grains, corn, and beans which could be produced on a large scale, an adjusted subsistence style was still evident. A slightly greater tendency toward specialization could be seen as one crop would be sold so other foodstuffs could be purchased. Nearly two-thirds of the rice and beans produced in the republic came from this region. Although the production of pigs and cattle was scattered throughout the region, the area generally had little relation to the national economy except in a few areas of Chiquimula, Jalapa, and Santa Rosa where coffee was grown. Unlike the altiplano which exported virtually nothing to other areas of the republic, the East did export some beans, rice and corn to other regions. Some textiles were exported as well. Not as resistant to technological change as the Indian altiplano, this Ladino dominated area was considered by some officials in the Arbenz regime as an area which could benefit considerably from an application of modern agricultural technology and programs of agrarian reform.[30]

The third major system of agriculture in Guatemala was that of the large finca or latifundia devoted to the raising of a single crop. Common to the coastal regions of the republic, this system depended upon the employment of a sizable labor force of colonos. In this system the colonos were provided with small plots of land for their own use and were expected to work on the patron's land at specific times during the year, particularly during planting and harvesting.[31] Ap-

proximately ninety per cent of the export crops of the republic in 1950 were produced in this manner on land areas which were often immense. The fincas were often operated by an administrator, the owners seldom taking an active interest in day-to-day operations. As the fincas were seldom mechanized, a large labor force was necessary for the peak times of activity and Indian laborers who had migrated from the highlands were hired, especially for the harvesting of crops. Produced in this manner were the major crops of the republic, including coffee, bananas, sugar cane and oils with the bulk of the wealth gained from the sale of these items going to the owner.[32] With these three systems of agriculture, Guatemala has operated for nearly four centuries. Yet Jacobo Arbenz, as well as many indigenistas, felt that these traditional patterns should be changed.

In the opinion of most indigenistas, if Guatemala was to integrate the Indians into the national framework by means of educational programs, then this integration, to be permanent, would have to provide for economic integration as well. An individual making no contribution through a combination of producer and consumer activities could not be said to be integrated in the complete sense of the word. He was apart from the national experience. For several, land tenure, as it operated as a system in the republic in 1950, acted as a powerful restraint on the effective use of land as well as the introduction of new agricultural techniques and means of production.[33] The land tenure practices were seen as

holding back consumption patterns and growth into new fields of investment. Land tenure practices inhibited integration. Upon the various systems of land tenure rested the entire social structure. Indeed, thoughout rural Latin America it was often to be found that the role of the individual in the land tenure institution was one rigidly ascribed to him by his status in an estate system, in spite of hundreds of constitutions promulgated since the end of the colonial period which had been based upon principles of social equality.[34]

The rural environment of Guatemala rested fundamentally upon the land tenure system. Any labor agreements which stepped outside the bounds of land tenure were generally exchange agreements, the right to use a given area of land in exchange for a particular privilege such as water rights. Only rarely did these agreements alter the traditional systems of land tenure. Indigenistas and Jacobo Arbenz knew that land tenure and the entire agrarian structure of Guatemala was such that any major effort toward economic integration of the Indian would be severely restricted by these structures and institutions.

Another critical factor to be considered was the Indian's concept of land tenure. For centuries the Indian had lived in the closely woven society of the land holding agrarian village. These societies were, in a sense, regulated by an agricultural cycle and were given stability by particular patterns of land use. In such an environment the Indian did not regard land as personal property in the European sense, but rather

as an entity belonging to the entire community. The right to work the land and to enjoy what was produced from it was often an inherited privilege. Land, like sunlight, was thus considered as belonging to every member of the community. The holder of land could often only benefit from it for a given period of time. Prior to the conquest agricultural efforts seldom extended beyond those necessary for a given family to survive and to provide whatever excess might be necessary to pay a tribute or tax. To produce for profit was not a principle common among the pre-Hispanic Indians of Guatemala.[35]

In Guatemala, in contrast to other areas of Latin America, the Indian forms of land tenure, although juxtaposed with Spanish forms, were not drastically altered by the conquest. Indeed, in many areas of the highlands the pre-Columbian forms remained virtually unchanged as the rugged terrain prevented frequent contact with the Spanish. The altiplano did not constitute an area of particular interest to the conquistadores. In cases where attempts were made to construct models of the Castillian agricultural village, the similarities between the two types and the fact that the land site remained unchanged actually served to reinforce the pre-Columbian pattern of land use. The highland Indian villages often held their lands by common title throughout the colonial period.[36] During the nineteenth century, when serious efforts were undertaken under the aegis of liberalism to break up Indian communal lands, many were unaffected simply because there

were few inducements for Ladinos to step into the rigorous terrain of the altiplano to exploit such a political advantage. The Indian view of land tenure and the practices associated with it had thus persisted for generations and were nearly as evident in 1950 as they had been in the sixteenth century.[37]

Since colonial times the hacienda system of agricultural production has continued in Guatemala. In 1950, as well as in earlier times, hacienda employees were provided with small plots of land to grow their own staples. Although Oliver La Farge and others have maintained that the coffee boom of the nineteenth century and the related migrations of the Indian laborers to the coastal regions tended to weaken their faith in native patterns of production as they came into contact with other groups, the basic thread survived. The Indian hacienda worker remained generally submissive even in the midst of the coffee boom of the 1860's as reported by two French geologists visiting Guatemala at this time. The hacienda system and the basic techniques of Indian agricultural production survived.[38] Although many changes and developments had affected the Indians of Guatemala, the basic pattern of the hacienda persisted and would have to be directly considered should any extensive effort at agrarian reform be undertaken.[39]

The prospect of a new agrarian law which would promise to alter the rural patterns of Guatemala was not new to the republic. Since independence from Spain various regimes including those of Reyna

Barrios and Lázaro Chacón had passed laws designed to control or regulate, in some respects, the agrarian situation. Even Jorge Ubico could claim that his administration had not entirely ignored the agrarian problem. He had only been in office for a short time when in July of 1931 he agreed to the passage of a decree allowing for the distribution of ejidos to individual campesinos on a provisional basis. Those receiving the plots could sell their products on the open market. The recipients were obligated to keep their lands under cultivation. Those failing in this were required to work on highway construction projects.[40] All ejidos were to be administered by the Ministry of Agriculture and each ejido, although composed of separate farms, was to be operated by a junta. Those who benefited from this program, however, were not the Indians but rather the large landowners who purchased the crop yields at ridiculously low prices. For the Indian little had changed.

Ubico's goal was to increase agricultural and livestock production. To accomplish this he undertook several programs. In August of 1931 the government began giving free titles of unused land to those who would try to produce cereals or raise cattle. In 1934 Ubico began ceding public or national lands to individuals promising to develop them. In the same year a decree authorized the president to turn over Indian communal lands to municipalities for the purpose of raising grains and cereals. These decrees plus a series of decisions in 1935 which allowed for the parceling of public lands to individuals, however, did not benefit the

Indians.

The Ladino agriculturalists and the large landholders were the ones who benefited most from Ubico's agrarian policies. Even the Ley Agraria passed in 1936 benefited only those who could demonstrate a capability for land development without financial assistance.[41] The Indian in the latter instance was effectively excluded. In 1935 a tract of land entitled "Las Majodas," owned by the Indian municipality of San Miguel Petapa, was divided up among the residents of the area and in 1942 the national finca "Montufar" which was largely populated by Indians was divided. In both cases army officers, government bureaucrats, and Ladinos favored by the Ubico government received title to the parcels. The Indian agriculturalists were ignored.[42]

During the Arévalo years, although agrarian reform had not become the issue of political dedication that it became later, the period was, nevertheless, not one of utter inactivity. As early as December of 1945, arevalistas realized that something must be done to encourage agricultural production in the republic and at the same time benefit the citizenry directly involved in agricultural pursuits. On December 27, 1945, the Dirección General de Colonización y Tierras was created with new powers to become operative as an official institution to be concerned with agrarian affairs.[43] The organization was to review the agrarian situation of Guatemala and make recommendations on a number of topics including land areas which could be opened for colonization,

lands which could be parcelled out effectively to small agriculturalists, the increase of production on the national fincas, many of which had been expropriated from absentee German owners during the war, and uncultivated areas which could be parcelled. The agrarian reform program of the Arbenz era received its start from the national fincas in that some of the land divisions were areas formerly owned by Germans.

Other duties included investigation into the possibilities of implementing rural electrification programs, the improvement of rural housing, the expansion of surface transportation and communication facilities that would aid in the distribution of agricultural products, the initiation of irrigation projects, and the study and encouragement of the formation of collectives or agricultural cooperatives.[44] The Dirección General de Colonización was to consist of an administrative body and a technical staff which would consider the practical prospects and potential problems of irrigation programs, potable water projects, and the expansion of rural production capabilities. Composed largely of engineers and peritos agrónomos, the new agency was to serve in a consultative capacity to those groups of individuals or communities wishing to improve some aspect of their environment. During the Arévalo years it undertook many projects, often in cooperation with the Ministry of Agriculture and other official organizations.[45]

Facing the Arévalo regime was a problem that had troubled earlier presidential administrations, that of finding a way to bring into active

production some of the untilled and unsettled areas of the republic. Colonization schemes in the past had not been successful and more often than not benefited foreign rather than domestic parties. The Arévalo government, nevertheless, decided to embark upon a colonization program. In October of 1945 a government decree authorized the formation of an agricultural colony at Poptún in the department of Petén.[46] In contrast to earlier schemes, this was designed to attract Guatemalan farmers only. The colony was to develop the area and raise crops. Various agencies of the national government were assigned responsibilities of providing for various services, including transportation, health, and sanitation facilities, labor regulations, defense, and technical assistance of various types. The technical staff of the Dirección General de Colonización y Tierras was to cooperate in the organization and development of the colony with other government agencies.

Poptún was to be developed with adequate facilities of all these types, including medical facilities, proper irrigation canals, decent housing, and plots of land large enough to provide the families living on them with ample foodstuffs. To create in Poptún a healthy and productive environment was the goal of the Arévala regime and only an extensive and dedicated effort could achieve this as it was located in one of the more remote and unsettled regions of the republic. To create a vibrant agricultural colony out of an untamed jungle was, in-

deed, a major challenge and although progress was slow, by the end of the Arbenz period, Poptún was a productive colony. The failure of the government to develop similar projects in other areas of the republic was explained in part by the emergence of other developments demanding more immediate attention. [47]

Prior to the announcement of the Poptún colonization initiative, the Arévalo government was faced with a difficult problem in the agricultural sector. A sizable number of the country's agriculturalists who were living on and operating a given plot of land did not possess a valid title for the land. Ubico, as was his custom, had granted usage rights to individuals for several hundred tracts of land but had denied to the recipients of his favor valid title to the land. These individuals could remain only as long as the land was kept under cultivation. As a considerable number of these agreements were not adequately documented in any legal sense, the problem was intensified. This practice plus that of simply residing on a given area of land without legal title, complicated considerably the question of land ownership. The Ley de Titulación Supletoria, passed on March 11, 1945, sought to alleviate the confusion of this situation. [48]

The new law affirmed the principle that all land except that denoted by a separate title as properly constituted land owned by the state which could be given in title to those interested in placing the area under cultivation. Article one of the law stated that anyone who re-

sided on a tract of land for not less than ten years could apply for legal title from the juzgado de primera instancia in the departmental capital. Applicants had to be Guatemalan citizens by birth and the land under consideration had to be more than fifteen kilometers from any of the national borders. Public or state officials could not solicit land titles in the geographical area of their jurisdiction. All inquiries had to be exact, giving land size, location, geographical description, and the complete names of the applicants. The land size, if exceeding forty-five hectáreas would require special processing.[49] As it was intended, the law was to lend some standard of legality to the entire process of granting and receiving land titles, something that had been ignored during the Ubico administration.

Although the Ley de Titulación Supletoria might have solved a facet of the agricultural problem in Guatemala, the fact still remained that agricultural production had to be increased. President Arévalo's prescription for solving at least a portion of this problem was the encouragement of collectivation, a path later to be pursued by his successor. Beginning in 1946 the government began assigning designated land areas, particularly national fincas, for use as cooperatives. Destined to receive financial and technical assistance from the government, it was hoped that these new cooperatives would overcome the problem of the distribution of goods and those problems inherent in the minifundia. On May 20, 1946, the national finca "La Blanca" was desig-

nated as the cooperative "20 de Octubre" and given a charter for a period of twenty years.[50]

The goals of the new collective were several and included the rational exploitation of the land area, the initiation in cooperation with the state of profitable means of distribution, the creation of efficient organs for price regulation, the teaching of mechanized agricultural techniques, the use of fertilizers and crop rotation, the social and economic betterment of the families living on the cooperative, the development of educational programs geared toward the needs and desires of those in the cooperative and the establishment of needed social services. The families to comprise the work force of the cooperative were to be those currently residing on the land and their number was not to exceed the maximum determined by the government as being the number to utilize capably the land area and in so doing maintain a decent standard of living.

The collective was to be financed by a group of loans and credits totaling ten thousand quetzales.[51] It was to be administered by a technical council, one of the members to be named by the President and another who would be appointed from the Ministry of Economy and Labor. The council, however, would appoint an administrative official to operate the cooperative. Profits were to be divided between the workers and the state, the state to receive ten per cent, the workers fifty per cent with the balance to be allocated for the social and edu-

cational improvement of the workers and their dependents. Signed into existence in 1946, the finca "20 de Octubre," legislatively speaking, became a model for dozens of subsequent cooperatives that would be formed during the revolutionary period.

In another policy innovation to stimulate production, the Arévalo government in 1946 authorized the sale or renting of vacant municipal lands to individuals wishing to bring the land under cultivation. Lands belonging to the municipality of Fraijanes in the Department of Guatemala were parcelled in this manner in October of 1946 and in December of 1946 an ownership dispute over the finca "Estancia Grande" was settled when the land was divided into parcels for use by the residents of San Juan Sacatepéquez.[52]

In October of 1948, the government parcelled out the national finca "Región de Osuna, 2" to the Indians of the community of Sumpango in the Department of Sacatepéquez, the community henceforth to be known as the "comunidad agricola indigena de Sumpango." The new finca was to be directed by the Ministry of Economy and Labor whose initial responsibility was to place all Indian families on plots of land that could become productive. The parcelarios were to receive technical assistance and advice from the Ministry of Agriculture.[53]

With this particular division of land as well as others involving national fincas particularly, the recipient of a parcel of land could not rent his new holdings to another party. If he did or if he failed to

make effective use of it, he would lose his right of possession. Such action had been undertaken on several occasions with parcels of land on the national finca "La Alameda" in Chimaltenango. The government maintained the right to institute changes in ownership whenever circumstances merited it.[54] Throughout the Arévalo period national fincas that were not being used effectively were parcelled out, this occurring to "El Conacaste" and El Durazno" in May of 1949, to "Llanos de Morales" in El Progreso and "Las Pilas" in Jutiapa in June of 1949 and to "Chapulquito" and "El Naranjo" near San Martin Jilotepeque in 1950.[55] Others affected during 1950 were the national finca "San Isidro" which was parcelled out to the residents of Malacatán in the Department of San Marcos, an area of land entitled "Jom Tzala" which went to residents of Nenton in Huehuetenango and other fincas which were divided among interested parcelarios.[56]

The Arévalo government, in its efforts to encourage agricultural production, was not always interested in granting small parcels of land to given family units. In April of 1949 the national finca "Cuyuta" in the Department of Escuintla was granted to Guillermo Balleza for the raising of cotton by mechanized means. The government was to receive twenty per cent of the total value of the yield. For those wishing to develop cotton, sugar cane, or cattle ranches and farms which would employ new technologies, the Arévalo government lent an interested ear.[57]

Jacobo Arbenz came to the presidency having promised to conduct a regime dedicated to the aims and goals of the 1944 Revolution and to continue the reform programs begun by his predecessor. In contrast to the energy devoted to educational reform and changes in other areas, the Arévalo government had not pursued a vigorous program of agrarian reform. It was true that specific measures had been implemented, but in terms of the nation as a whole, the net effect had been nearly negligible. In 1952 a small percentage of Guatemala's families owned nearly seventy per cent of the arable land in the republic. The latifundia was very much a part of the agrarian scene. To alter this situation and bring to Guatemala an agrarian reality that would correspond to the aims, goals, and persuasions of modern indigenismo and the 1944 Revolution was a fundamental policy of the Arbenz regime.

As early as 1951 Arbenz affirmed that one of the objectives of his administration was to convert the nation to a capitalistic basis in which it could produce what it consumed. He wanted to readjust the agrarian situation by suppressing the unproductive latifundia, abolishing the usury of land use rents and unfair labor practices, outlawing discriminatory share-cropping practices and making as much land as possible truly productive. Guatemalan agriculture, he felt, should become capitalistic rather than continue as a form of feudalism.[59] Yet, how was this to be achieved? The answer came, in part, on June 17, 1952.

The Ley de reforma agraria or Decree 900 sought to bring about

land reform in Guatemala. Stated in the preface of the new law was that one of the fundamental objectives of the October revolution had been to realize a substantial change in property ownership and the forms traditionally utilized to exploit land, the aim being to end the economic backwardness of the republic and improve the lot of the agriculturalist.[60] The law implied a sense of dissatisfaction with the disproportionate pattern of land ownership in the republic and the fact that many campesinos were without land that could be called their own. It assumed that the campesino working on his own land would be more innovative and productive than one working on a latifundia. Decree 900 also indicated that the lands formerly belonging to Germans which had been expropriated would be used to initiate new forms of agricultural production and bring about some reasonable social function to land.

The Ley de reforma agraria was designed to bring fundamental change to Guatemala rather than temporary change. One of its objectives as stated in article one was to liquidate feudal practices in Guatemalan agriculture and encourage capitalistic behavioral patterns which could operate as a foundation for the advent of industrialization.[61] Article two abolished all forms of slavery or servitude and usurous loans or personal service agreements between landholders and Indian or Ladino agricultural workers. Those renting lands were not to be assessed with a rent schedule that exceeded more than five per cent of the total value of the goods produced. The third article more suc-

sinctly expressed the goals of Decree 900 as being the development of a capitalistically oriented campesino rural economy. Decree 900 also called for the increase in the size of lands held by campesinos, mozos colonos, and agricultural workers in general, the wise and productive use of unoccupied and untilled lands, the introduction of new agricultural methods which would make use of fertilizers, seeds, and irrigation techniques, the rendering of technical assistance whenever and wherever it would be advantageous, and the development of programs which would make credit facilities easily available to the campesinos.[62]

Under the new law campesinos could apply for a plot of land from tracts that had been nationalized or expropriated and were not being used for a particular purpose by the state. The applicants would be granted either a title or usage rights by the state through the Departamento Agrario Nacional. Any privately owned land area could be expropriated if it was determined that it was not under cultivation.[63] Should this occur, the owner would receive agrarian bonds for the value of his land. Land areas that were not being effectively utilized by renters, state lands or national fincas, municipal land areas, tracts containing mineral or water reserves, areas needed to form new population centers, or lands that could be used for industrial purposes were all subject to possible expropriation.

Exceptions, however, were noted. An area under two caballerías in size where at least two-thirds of the tract was under cultivation

were not to be expropriated. Ejidal lands, fincas operated by a cooperative, and privately owned lands upon which the mechanized production of coffee, cotton, citronella, lemons, bananas, sugar cane, tobacco, rubber, fruits, beans, cereals, or a food crop destined for the domestic market was being grown were not to be parcelled. Generally speaking, the final consideration as to whether or not an area was to be expropriated was if it was being effectively utilized. If so, it was not to be adversely affected by the new law.[64] Productive farms, forestry reserves, and lands belonging to civic organizations or particular domestic agricultural companies were to be excluded from any official action. The national forest reserves were loosely defined as the heavily forested areas in El Petén, Izabal, Alta Verapaz, El Quiché, Huehuetenango, and other areas so named by the Departamento Agrario Nacional.[65]

The decree specifically allowed for and in a sense encouraged the parcelization of the national fincas. For those under cultivation the plots were to range in size from four to seven hectáreas. If uncultivated, the plots could range from one to eighteen hectáreas.[66] To be encouraged whenever possible was the formation of cooperatives. Agricultural workers and campesinos who possessed no land whatever or very little could solicit up to twenty-five manzanas from a national finca that was not destined to become a cooperative farm. Once a party had received a plot of land it could not be ceded or rented to

another individual or organization. All property on a national finca including agricultural machinery, fertilizers, seeds, and tools was to become the property of the Departamento Agrario Nacional prior to parcelization. All who had received a plot of land from either a national finca or a privately owned tract were to contribute three per cent of the yield each year to cover the costs of expropriation and what was to become the agrarian debt.[67]

Under the Ley agraria all latifundias larger than six caballerías which were not productive or which were operated under a feudalistic agreement were subject to immediate expropriation with the land to be divided up among the resident mozos colonos and any interested campesinos in the immediate area without land.[68] This stipulation more than any other in the new law constituted the greatest threat to the Guatemalan social structure in that if enforced rigorously, the entire rural social and economic strata of the republic could be altered considerably.

The Agrarian law as it was envisioned by Arbenz was to attempt to achieve the goal of continued and beneficial use of all arable land in the republic. Any Guatemalan citizen could apply for and generally expect to receive a tract of land which he could rent from the Departamento Agrario Nacional, but if by the second year a crop was not produced, the land would revert to the state.[69] In all cases, the rents were to be based upon the value of the crops produced and were to remain three per cent or less. However, as the value of the land increased, the

rent could be increased in proportion. All funds raised by the Departamento Agrario Nacional were to be used in giving loans to applicants and in providing technical aid. The Banco Agrario Nacional was created to assist in this.[70]

To administer the new agrarian law, the President of the republic was to be the final authority on all agrarian questions. Beneath him would operate the National Agrarian Department, a National Agrarian Council, agrarian committees on the Department level, and local agrarian committees. The departmental agrarian committees were to be composed of one representative from the Departamento Agrario Nacional, a departmental official from the Ministerio de Gobernación, and one member each from the Asociación General de Agricultores, the Confederación General de Trabajadores, and the Confederación Nacional Campesina.[71] The local agrarian committees were to be operative in any area where there were lands that had been or could be affected by the law. The members could either be elected or appointed.

While the National Agrarian Council and the departmental agrarian committees were to handle the details of expropriation and parcelizations, the local agrarian committees were to process all solicitations, be responsible for the registration of all lands affected by the new law, and oversee the changes in ownership. The local agrarian committee possessed the initial authority to denounce a particular area of land as one which should be expropriated under the guidelines established

by the new law. Any eventual expropriation would be processed by one of the other agencies. Functioning as a dependency of the President, the Departamento Agrario Nacional was to be responsible for suggesting new laws for application to the agrarian situation, for handling indemnizations, for granting titles to new property owners, for supervising rent contracts, and for organizing and directing technical assistance and credit programs.[72] Signed into law in June of 1952, Decree 900 promised a transformation of the agrarian structure of the republic.

With the final passage of the agrarian reform law, it was not long before local agrarian committees began to be formed and become operative. The chief task of these committees, whose members were more often than not campesinos, was to denounce all land areas that might be liable for expropriation under the law. Although the findings of these committees might frequently be referred to higher authority, their decisions usually remained final. By 1953 nearly fifteen hundred comités agrarios were in operation.

During 1953 the committees across the republic were quite active as 263 fincas were expropriated, a total land area of 76,610 hectáreas being divided among 16,381 persons.[73] The greatest number of expropriated fincas were located in the departments of Guatemala, Escuintla, San Marcos, and Chimaltenango.[74] By December of 1953 land valued at nearly 4,423,685 quetzales had been expropriated.[75] By the end of 1953 records indicated that some 263 privately owned state fincas

has been expropriated while 23 municipally owned fincas and state fincas had been parcelled. Of the national fincas, 133 had been divided up and 44 had been organized into cooperatives.[76] By April of 1954 a land area of some 794,116 manzanas had been affected by the agrarian law and was valued at over eight million dollars by the Banco Agrario Nacional.[77]

The Ley agraria, as viewed by the President, many of his supporters and indigenistas, was to make Guatemala more of a capitalistic country economically speaking. This, it was thought, could be achieved in part by making productive tracts of land that were not being effectively utilized by expropriating them for the benefit of those willing to work the land and those owning very little land or no land at all. It was felt by many indigenistas and arbencistas that an effective agrarian law would be an important means of making the Indian an active participant in the national economy. As a landowner he would have a stake in the economy for the first time and could contribute more and benefit more from this interest and association. Ideally, the agrarian law would create a new middle class in the republic and ultimately end the dangers inherent in a bipolarized society of those with wealth and those without.[78] That this dream would not become a lasting reality represented the greatest defeat endured by indigenismo as it was manifested during the revolutionary decade.

Regardless of the extent of Arbenz's dedication toward improving the status of the Indian agriculturalist in Guatemala by the implementation of what he and others considered to be an advanced and progressive

land reform law, the efforts of his regime were to end somewhat short of the goals they had envisioned. Several fundamental reasons could be noted for this. Economically speaking, Decree 900 did not fulfill the chief goal for which it was intended, that of increased agricultural production. Between 1951 and 1954 the production levels of four of the basic foodstuffs in the republic fell. Corn production dropped by seventeen per cent, beans by ten per cent, rice by two per cent, and wheat by thirty per cent. Even the production level of coffee, the most important monetary or export crop in the republic, had decreased by thirteen per cent.[79] The production level of only one crop, potatoes, had been increased by approximately eight per cent. The net effect of this decline forced the government to increase its import quotas of foodstuffs, thus causing the already precarious economy to become even more unstable. Decree 900 had failed to provide the republic with what it consumed, a goal President Arbenz had repeated on numerous occasions during his presidency.

The Agrarian Law, in attempting to end latifundismo and the social structures associated with it, did not provide a better substitute. By placing a five manzana maximum on lands to be rented or given in title to individual agriculturalists, Decree 900 was, in effect, replacing the latifundia with the minifundia and in so doing emphasizing and increasing the very problems it was attempting to eliminate, particularly subsistence farming which traditionally was associated with a low level of

production. The minifundia simply could not provide the basis for a rural middle class capable of providing the handsome agricultural surplus that the government so desperately desired. The land areas or parcels authorized by Decree 900 were such that any program of technical assistance would have been of minimum benefit at best. Mechanization, generally speaking, was impractical if not financially impossible. Although financial assistance was available to the new agriculturalists through the Banco Agrícola Nacional, INFOP, and the Departamento de Agricultura, loans were often very modest given the nature and the extent of the need of a given farmer.[80] Guatemala's status as an underdeveloped nation and the fact that the country was experiencing falling production levels severely decreased available cash reserves.

The Agrarian Law, in attempting to alter a centuries old social structure, would have faced major difficulties had everything else been favorable. That economic circumstances were not particularly favorable overall spelled eventual disappointment. In an effort to force the implementation of the agrarian law and circumvent probable opposition, Arbenz named himself as the final authority on all agrarian questions and disallowed the authority of the Guatemalan courts. The law stated that appeals to a court of law were to be forbidden.[81] A landowner whose holdings had been denounced could only appeal to the President for consideration. Disgusted and angered over the denouncing of lands which several affected landowners considered to be exempt from the

new law, they appealed as a group to the Guatemalan Supreme Court. The court issued injunctions against further expropriations on the legal premise that the agrarian law was unconstitutional. The court then ordered the lower courts to suspend any land reform proceedings pending the outcome of an investigation into the probable illegal seizures of agricultural properties.

In a message to Congress President Arbenz refused to recognize the Supreme Court's right to issue an injunction. The Guatemalan Congress with nearly an eighty per cent majority vote upheld the President and ousted those justices who had voted in favor of the injunction, including the Chief Justice Arturo Herberger.[82] Four justices favorable to arbencista policies were then appointed. Although the government had survived this crisis despite demonstrations in February of 1953 against illegal land seizures and the arbencista agrarian policies, the damage had been done. For the balance of his regime, President Arbenz would be required to face the criticism of his agrarian policies as being unconstitutional.

By June of 1954 records indicated that the Departamento Agrario Nacional had been busy indeed. In approximately an eighteen month period 235,647 acres of national fincas had been distributed in the form of lifetime title grants to 23,222 individuals. Some 127,000 acres in state owned or municipally owned fincas had been granted to 16,515 individuals. Nearly 48,000 persons had received about 555,098 acres

of land that had been privately owned before expropriation. In all, 87,569 persons had received 917,659 acres of land.[83] That a great deal of this activity was possibly illegal represented a serious criticism of arbencista agrarian policies and the goal of bringing about the economic integration of the Indian. Yet a problem of more far reaching consequences faced the Arbenz regime as it attempted to radicalize the agrarian scene in Guatemala.

Although the agrarian law could be questioned on legal, moral, and economic grounds as being something less than satisfactory for the situation at hand in Guatemala, at least at the beginning of its implementation it had not been a political issue. By 1953, however, it had become a political issue of both domestic and international proportions which in the final analysis was a disservice to the actual agrarian situation. The issue at stake was the presence, real or fictional, depending upon one's point of view at the outset of Arbenz's presidency, of Communists in Guatemala and their influence in the government. At the beginning of his regime Arbenz did appoint some Communists to positions of some influence and he had been supported in his campaign by Communists, but they did not have a wide range of influence. Near the end of his term, however, the situation had changed.

Probably out of the conviction that the Communists were more willing to carry out honestly some of his nationalistic aims, Arbenz began to tender several appointments to them. In December of 1951 Ricardo

Nackman was named Ministro de Gobernación and Mardequeo García Asturias as Ministro de Educación. Later Jaime Díaz Rozzotto was named by Arbenz as a member of the National Election Board. Diaz Rozzotto had earlier helped to organize the Communist Partisans for Peace Committee in Guatemala and in time would become Arbenz's presidential secretary. In this capacity he was able to exercise some influence in the executive branch of government and especially in the cabinet. Later he became secretary-general of the Partido Renovación Nacional, one of the government political parties, where he was able to expand his influence on a nationwide basis. In March Julio Estrada de la Hoz was elected president of the Guatemalan Congress and Alfonso Solórzano was appointed to direct the Instituto de Seguridad Social. Most of these individuals were considered to be Communists.[84]

The expansion of Communism in Guatemala, however, was not to be seen only in presidential appointments. A stipulation in the Guatemalan constitution disallowed the existence of a political party whose allegiance went beyond the national borders. This regulation, in effect, outlawed the communist party. However, President Arbenz chose to ignore this and allowed the Guatemalan Labor Party, the forerunner of the Guatemalan Communist Party, to form. The secretary-general of this new political party was José Manuel Fortuny, a self-declared Communist. By 1952 the Partido Renovación Nacional, the Partido de Trabajadores de la Revolución, and the Partido Socialista

had either merged with other political parties where the evidence of Communist influence was strong or had their leadership heavily infiltrated with Communists. Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, the founder of the Partido de Trabajadores de la Revolución, had dissolved his party and had joined the Partido Comunista in Guatemala.[85] Congressional elections held in January of 1953 gave leftists an unexpected victory. In local elections held in December of 1953 Gabriel Camay was elected mayor of Escuintla and Communists won at the polls in Villa Nueva, Santa Lucía Cotzulimaguapa, and San Miguel Petapa.[86]

Although a few prominent Marxists and declared Communists in government positions would not in themselves indicate a Communistic government, Arbenz's administration, as time progressed, seemed to be leaning more and more to Marxist persuasions. Arbenz lent official support to and attended the 1953 May Day Parade in Guatemala City. The parade turned out to be an anti-United States demonstration with many of the trappings of a Soviet May Day Parade.[87] Carlos Alvarado Jérez, director of the government radio station and an admitted Communist, became prominent in 1953 when he led the Guatemalan delegation attending the International Peace Conference in Peiping in 1953. Other individuals having some influence in Arbenz's government in 1953 were Manuel Pinto Usaga and Vicente Lombardo Toledano, both Marxist labor leaders in Latin America, Carmen Moran, head of the Committee for the Protection of Children in Guatemala, and José

Alberto Cardoza, a member of Congress.[88]

By early 1954 the open influence of Communism in Guatemala appeared to be increasing. The third Congress of Campesinos meeting in Guatemala City on February 20, 1954 was attended by Julio Estrada de la Hoz. Those attending heard a greeting from the Farm Workers Union in Moscow and a speech by the Guatemalan Communist labor leader Víctor Manuel Gutierrez, who related that the great Yankee trusts had been involved in a plot against Guatemala. The meeting was further punctuated by an address from Antonio Cabrere who represented the Confederation of Latin American Workers and the World Federation of Trade Unions. He explained the basic importance of agrarian reform and emphasized that it should be directed to benefit the Indian. At the same time, the first Youth Festival opened in Chimaltenango and was supported by the Communist daily newspaper Tribune Popular.[89]

One area in which the influence of Communism was most evident was in the labor sector. By 1952 Communist labor organizations had penetrated many of the nation's sindicatos to the degree that many merged into a Confederation of Labor Unions which affiliated with the Latin American Confederation of Labor whose president was Vicente Lombardo Toledano. The anti-Communist labor groups were dealt a death blow when many of their leaders were sent into exile. Near the end of 1952 Communist labor leaders represented some 225,000 union members, 100,000 of whom were Indian farm workers.[90]

A direct manifestation of this spreading influence was the plethora of strikes and labor-management confrontations that occurred during the Arbenz regime. Earlier in 1951 the Communists were credited with instigating strikes by school teachers, farm workers, and market proprietors in Angigua. In August of 1951 Communist union officials conducted a strike on the government's most valuable coffee property, the 11,000 acre "Finca La Concepcion." The workers eventually received higher wages. Many other strikes during the period were attributed to the Communists, including strikes by customhouse workers, communications workers, and railway employees. Particularly costly for the economy as a whole was a strike by railway engineers in April of 1951.[91] As a result of this strike a good portion of the nation's banana crop was destroyed. With a Labor Code that consistently favored the worker over the employer in terms of its actual operation, Marxism was provided with a fruitful environment for growth.[92]

The Departamento Nacional Agrario, unfortunately for the cause of indigenismo and that of agrarian reform, was heavily infiltrated by Communists. A good number of the local agrarian committees had been established by representatives from the Federation of Labor, communistic in its composition as well as in its ideological orientation. Eager to correct what they considered to be the ills in rural Guatemalan society, many of these local agrarian committees unjustly denounced lands for expropriation and by 1954 contributed considerably

to the rural unrest in the republic. This, coupled with a fast moving National Agrarian Committee which by 1954 had expropriated nearly 234,000 acres of the United Fruit Company's holdings at Tiquisate and nearly 174,000 acres of its plantations on the Atlantic coast, as well as numerous privately owned fincas, all served to create a potentially explosive situation.[93] Owners received compensation for their holdings in agrarian bonds of doubtful value. Joining the United Fruit Company as those foreign companies which felt the sting of Arbenz's anti-imperialism were the International Railways of Central America, the W.R. Grace Company, and the Empresa Eléctrica.

Although the spread of Communism or its influence in Arbenz's government was apparent to many, it did not go unopposed. By late 1952 the National Civic Committee and an organization of anti-Communist university students began agitating for a government housecleaning and calling for the prohibition of the Partido Comunista. By 1953 an anticommunist campaign was under way on both the domestic and international scenes.

Late in 1953 the topic of Communism in Guatemala had become an international issue. Concerned over the possible presence of an unfriendly power so close to the Panama Canal, Senator Alexander Wiley of the United States Foreign Relations Committee expressed his contention and that of others as well when he affirmed that Communism had established a foothold in Guatemala.[94] It was felt that Guatemala

should be in friendly hands because of its geographical proximity to the United States and the Panama Canal and because of its value as a source of raw materials. Although at this time other Latin American nations were relatively unconcerned about the presence of Communism in Guatemala, the political climate in the United States was such that the issue assumed primary importance.

Those of this persuasion could point to many instances where Guatemala had functioned in opposition to the United States. In April of 1948 at an Interamerican conference held in Bogotá, the Guatemalan representative, Manuel Galich, had played the role of an obstructionist in the drafting of the constitution for the Organization of American States. In 1950 Guatemala was reprimanded by ODECA, the Organization of Central American States, for allowing the Caribbean Legion to use its territory to prepare an invasion of the Dominican Republic. Also in 1950 Guatemala was accused of supporting an intended golpe de estado in Honduras. Later in 1952 the official Guatemalan government radio station was openly urging revolt in Honduras and Guatemalan Communists were blamed for encouraging the overthrow of Oscar Osorio in El Salvador. Throughout the period several Guatemalan diplomats were ordered to return home for suspected Communistic activities.[95] When it was announced in May of 1954 by the United States State Department that the cargo ship Alfhelm was unloading a cargo of arms from the Communist controlled Polish port of Stettin

the fears of an eventual clash of arms began to become more apparent.[96] The Guatemalan populace, in learning of the opposition of the United States to the arms shipment, came to the defense of their government as having the right to purchase military supplies from whomever they wished. The Guatemalan press denounced the imperialism of the United States.

Concerned over the prospect of an international military action against Guatemala based upon various hemispheric security agreements, many Guatemalans agitated in favor of the patria. Mass meetings of Guatemalan workers, dominated by leaders from the CGT and the CNCG were held throughout the republic to set up vigilante defense units. Meetings in Guatemala City, El Progreso, and Zacapa encouraged the formation of farmer's militia units. When in May of 1954 it was discovered that Guatemalan Communists were plotting to assassinate Anastasio Somoza, president of Nicaragua, arms were rushed to Nicaragua from the United States. A military action appeared entirely possible. Based upon the 1947 military defense pact signed in Rio de Janeiro, and the anti-Communist Caracas Declaration, the United States and other republics seemed to be in favor of a strong stand against Guatemala.[97]

By June of 1954 the fear of revolution in Guatemala was becoming a real concern. Wishing to make more secure his political position, Arbenz began urging the Farmer's Union and labor unions where his support was considerable to arm their membership and form guerrilla

forces. Prominent anticommunists were jailed in a nationwide effort to stifle the opposition. Public centers and business establishments began to close their doors, fearing the outbreak of violence at any time.[98] Revolution was apparent.

Leading the anti-Communist and anti-Arbenz movement was Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas, who began consolidating his forces for an intended invasion of Guatemala from Tegucigalpa in 1953. An earlier attempt to oust the revolutionary government had failed. Although by June of 1953 the United States Senate and some Latin American republics were discussing the possibilities of economic sanctions against Guatemala and the possibilities of a joint military venture to stop the spread of Communism, the revolution seemed to be progressing well as Castillo Armas set up headquarters in Esquipulas. By June 25, 1954 rebel forces held strategic positions in Puerto Barrios, Zacapa, Chiquimula, and other areas. Castillo Armas, after repeated successes, felt assured of eventual victory and asked the largely neutral Guatemalan army to oust Arbenz and set up a new government. Fearing the worst, most of Arbenz's cabinet members and legislative leaders resigned and on June 27 Arbenz himself was arrested. By June 29 the revolution led by Castillo Armas had met with success.[99]

The Arbenz experiment in the radicalization of domestic Guatemala had ended with some 4,000 dead and horrible tales of atrocities that had been committed by Rogelio Cruz Wer, national police chief, and

Jaime Rosenberg, security police chief. They and their associates in the last hours of the revolution had committed a chain of atrocities that horrified the reading public in Guatemala for several months to come. Although by the end of July the bulk of the hostilities had ceased, uprisings of farmers and rural militia groups in Escuintlo, Pinula, and Concepción punctuated the aftermath of violence. The Arbenz government had fallen, with many of the officials of Communist persuasion fleeing to Mexico, the most noted of these being Alfonso Bauer Paiz, president of the Banco Agrario Nacional, who took with him some 200,000 quetzales.

In the weeks to follow, the military junta in power and Carlos Castillo Armas were quick to terminate many of the indigenista programs initiated by the revolutionary governments and particularly the Arbenz government. The new government initially appeared to feel that indigenismo was simply a stepchild of Communism.[100] In July of 1954 illiterate Indians who had been given the right to vote were disenfranchised. After July 8, when Castillo Armas was named provisional president, other programs were either dissolved or discontinued for a time. The Agrarian Law and its associated administrative machinery was suspended completely. All earlier expropriations were to be reviewed and if determined to have been unjust, the lands were to be returned to their original owners. As the political climate under Castillo Armas was avidly anti-Communist, a popularly held contention was that the land reform program of Arbenz

had been nothing more than an effort sponsored by the Communists to increase their influence in Guatemala. The majority of the private lands expropriated by the agrarian committees were returned to their owners. The new Indian tenants reverted to their former status as colonos or landless farmers in many instances.[101]

The urge to rid the republic of any influence of Communism took on, in some instances, severe proportions. As much of the legislative and administrative structure and institutions established during the Arbenz era were thought to be communistic, they were dissolved or severely curtailed. Many rural school teachers suddenly found themselves without jobs. The Instituto Indigenista was temporarily suspended and those who had been instrumental in bringing about reforms during the Arbenz period or who had been vocal in their calls for reform were suspected of being Marxists. Beyond the goal of ending Communism, the aim of the Castillo Armas government seemed to be that of returning Guatemala to its state of being prior to the 1944 Revolution.

For the benefit of indigenismo, however, this goal, intended or not, was not achieved. In time the Instituto Indigenista was reorganized and became active again and other institutions of indigenismo were either replaced or altered to conform to new interests and priorities. Although indigenismo as an economic, social, moral, and philosophical point of view became dormant for a time following the 1954 counter-revolution, it had not become a dead issue. Its denotation as a national

problem and the efforts undertaken during the revolutionary decade to deal with this problem remained implanted in the Guatemalan experience. Although the issue of land distribution during the Arbenz era had been unfortunately a radical one which attempted to accomplish a great deal in a very limited space of time, the issue, nevertheless, had been tackled on a wide front for the first time in the history of the republic. Truly widespread and organized efforts for the first time to integrate the Indian majority had been attempted and had achieved some noted successes, particularly in the fields of labor and education. Thousands of Indian peasants for the first time experienced a personal contact with the national government that did not after the contact leave them in worse circumstances than before. The Arévalo and Arbenz years, although ending in counterrevolution and tainted by the issue of international Communism, represented certainly a high point in the development of Guatemalan indigenismo.

## NOTES

## CHAPTER IX

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# CHAPTER X

## CONCLUSIONS

Although indigenismo in Guatemala largely has been a phenomenon of the twentieth century, its political and ideological foundations stretch back into the early years of the sixteenth century and the first Spanish experiences in the New World. For most Spaniards the New World represented opportunity, the chance for social, political, and economic advancement. For others it meant spiritual dedication and commitment. Whatever the motive, the newly arrived were quick to take advantage of the circumstances surrounding them. In areas such as Guatemala where easily acquirable mineral wealth was not to be found in great abundance, the native populations subsequently became the basis for enrichment. In Guatemala a brutal despotism was imposed at the outset by Pedro de Alvarado. By 1540 this had developed into the virtual enslavement of many of the Indian groups in the area. In addition, the institutions for native control that had been implemented in the West Indies including the encomienda and the repartimiento were quickly and forcefully imposed in Guatemala.

The fact that these exploitative practices were not accepted universally by all Spanish officials and clerics in the New World provided the

basis for an argument that would endure throughout the colonial period. Speaking from his pulpit in Santo Domingo in 1511, Antonio de Montesinos denounced the encomienda and the unjust treatment of the natives and in so doing became one of the first to oppose openly Spanish colonial practices. Partly as a result of the dialogue by Montesinos and others, the Laws of Burgos were intended to limit the exploitation of the natives. Instead, the encomienda was recognized as an institution necessary for the continued maintenance of Spanish hegemony in the New World. By 1514 the ranks of those opposed to the encomienda were enlarged by Bartolomé De Las Casas. In renouncing his own encomienda and speaking out against Spain's overseas policies, the cause that later would be called indigenismo gained what would become its most consistent and prolific expositor.

Throughout his long and productive career Las Casas succeeded on several occasions in altering the crown's policy toward Indians in the New World. His energetic and impassioned pleas on behalf of justice for the Indians brought crown support to a community development scheme in 1516 and a colonization plan in 1520. His theory of peaceful conversion, implemented successfully in Chiapas, demonstrated an alternative to past crown policies. He argued that the familiar entradas by armed conquistadores were destructive and costly as a means of extending royal control and not within the bounds of accepted Church morality and ethics.

The focal point for the rhetoric of Las Casas, however, was the

elimination of the encomienda as an institution. This viewpoint became crown policy in 1542 with the passage of the New Laws. These not only dissolved the encomienda, but attempted to protect the Indian from being exploited in a number of other ways. Although attempts to enforce the New Laws met with stiff resistance and led ultimately to their suspension, it was around this issue that Bartolomé de Las Casas and Alonso López de Cerrato, who in their support of Indian justice, established the basis for indigenismo in Guatemala. This humanistic point of view centered around an abiding faith in the human potential of the Indians to become productive vassals of the crown and loyal Christians. Unwarranted and excessive exploitation became the antithesis of this persuasion.

The peak of pro-Indian sentiment and legislation embodied in the New Laws endured for only a few months. Although López de Cerrato actively attempted to implement these laws in Guatemala, his efforts eventually were futile. The very basis of Spanish power in Guatemala had become dependent utterly upon the presence of a large and docile Indian labor force. This factor as well as the crown's constant need of funds to maintain its vast overseas empire and to support its commitments in Europe dictated a legislative course that responded more often to economic necessities than to Indian rights. This economic priority continued as a dominant theme in Spain's colonial policy for over three centuries.

With the collapse of Spain's empire in Central America early in the nineteenth century and the foundation of an independent Guatemala,

new political circumstances seemed at the time to suggest a departure from the familiar pattern of exploitation experienced by the republic's Indian population. Such a change, however, did not occur. With the exception of a few juridic changes and political realignments, independence merely substituted creoles for peninsulares. The Indian remained as the fundamental element in the republic's economy and to an appreciable extent a subjugated class held in place by the hacienda system and related institutions.

Some like Rafael Landívar, however, felt the Indian majority of Guatemala's population held the key to the cultural identity of the area as well as its overall human potential. Another who years later agreed with such a viewpoint was Mariano Gálvez. As president he encouraged recognition of the cultural autonomy of the Indian and sought to initiate government sponsored programs designed to benefit him directly. He contended that an educated Indian populace could become a part of the national fabric of the republic. This point of view, supported later by President Mariano Rivera Paz, was swept aside with the emergence of Rafael Carrera. Mariano Gálvez's contribution to the indigenista cause was his belief that progress would ultimately depend upon the education and eventual integration of the Indian.

The era of Rafael Carrera and to a considerable extent the liberal reaction which immediately followed were not noted for any lasting legislation which favorable affected the Indian population of the repub-

lic. With Carrera's attainment of the presidency, the caudillo's sizable contingent of Indian supporters who had filled the ranks of his army evaporated into the highlands. Although a few Indians held official posts in Carrera's government, as a group they did not receive any substantial degree of legislative attention. The liberal regimes of Miguel García Granados and Justo Rufino Barrios, which espoused economic development and progress, achieved many of the advances associated with their era only at the expense of social progress for the Indian. Barrios viewed the Indian as did the landholders. Nevertheless, some legislation passed during his administrations benefited the Indians. A series of decrees established schools for Indian children and a new labor code gave Indian workers a few minor advantages. As in former eras, however, the Indian element in Guatemala remained in the background in terms of rights and social and economic participation.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century the Indian became the center of a considerable degree of activity and attention. As indigenistas and like those favorable to this persuasion before him, President José María Reina Barrios recognized the unrealized and often ignored potential of Guatemala's majority and sought through law to allow this potential to become a part of the nation's existence. The mandamiento as an institution was discontinued and a new labor code was formulated which provided protection to Indian workers from some of the more abusive practices of Ladino employers.

Political involvement at the local level was initiated and stimulated by, among other things, municipal elections for Indian officials such as that held in Totonicapán. To understand better the problems facing the Indian, an Indian Institute was created in 1893. An Agricultural Institute was established in 1894 for the training of Indian agriculturalists. With these measures and others Reina Barrios began what would later evolve as the multi-faceted approach to the Indian problem familiar to modern indigenistas. Through a series of programs and legislative decrees Reina Barrios, in time, hoped the Indian would become an effective part of the national identity of Guatemala. Like Las Casas and Mariano Gálvez, Reina Barrios recognized the latent potential of the Indian and attempted to set into motion programs and policies that would eventually channel the expression of this potential.

The untimely assassination of President Reina Barrios in 1898 abruptly terminated what amounted to an early indigenista government program. While the indigenista persuasion would not appear in such graphic political form again until after 1944, the philosophical and idealogical foundations were fostered, developed, and expanded upon in literary and cultural circles. The first major Guatemalan author to speak of the Indian in his novels was José Milla Vidaurre. In La hija del Adelantado, El visitador, and Los nazarenos, a romanticized concept of the Guatemalan Indian appeared including detailed discussions of his customs and traditions as a part of Guatemala's heritage. A later

novel by Agustín Franco entitled Don Juan Nuñez García presented the Indian in his environment and discussed extensively the abuses and injustices sustained by the Indians at the hands of the Ladinos. These novelists, however, only touched upon what would be recognized in later years as a fundamental element of modern indigenismo, that of a detailed and realistic understanding of the Indian's circumstances and surroundings.

With the Guatemalan novelists of the twentieth century, indigenismo was provided with its most artistic if not its most comprehensive expression. Through the novel the Indian became a point of cultural analysis wherein indigenista authors attempted first to understand the significance of Indian influence upon national culture and secondly to register a message of social protest which generally called for an end to exploitation. Collectively they advocated the incorporation of the Indian into the national culture. In Carlos Wyld Ospina's La gringa, the Indian appeared as a rational being who, like the Ladino, was affected by the environmental forces around him. A later novel by Wyld Ospina, La tierra de las nahuyacas, the Indian protagonist, Sebastián Ax, was portrayed as existing in a world where the supernatural and the real were fused into one shadow-filled entity which represented an unalterable part of Guatemala's national heritage. This melange of the real and unreal as presented by Wyld Ospina and others constituted a basic contribution to Guatemalan indigenismo as an understanding of this

helped to explain in some respects the social history of Guatemala.

With the writings of Miguel Angel Asturias and Mario Monteforte Toledo, the Guatemalan Indian came to represent the most fundamental element of the republic's nationality. The eternally dispossessed Indian in El señor presidente, constantly being subjected to exploitation by the Ladino, was kept apart, thus, from the national heritage that was largely his own. The continuation of caudillismo and personalismo which thrived upon advantage gained from the Indian, in effect, insured his unchanging social and economic position. This Indian, however, in Hombres de maiz, was presented as a person whose life style was in the material sense simple but in the psychological sense quite complicated. Asturias, through many of his works, emphasized the magical and the subconscious elements of the Guatemalan Indian and the importnace of these in his life style. As Asturias insisted, these elements must be understood and made a part of the non-Indian sector of Guatemala's culture. Along this same path Mario Monteforte Toledo in his Entre la piedra y la cruz described the fundamental dilemma facing the Indian. He was caught between the cultural values of his Indian past and the world of the Ladino. Unable to become a part of either, the Indian remained disenfranchised from both. Monteforte Toledo and Asturias saw the Indian as the common denominator of Guatemalan culture and society and thus the key to the nation's future.

Although the indigenista expression in letters explained in some

detail various facets of the Indian problem and suggested a number of solutions, the reality of the Indian's circumstances prior to 1944 had changed little from the colonial period. In October of 1944 the ousting of Jorge Ubico from power brought an end to over a decade of stern and often harsh political rule. Within a few days after assuming power, the military junta which replaced Ubico began issuing decrees which, if nothing else, reflected their intent to deal with some of the pressing national problems facing the republic such as illiteracy, poor education, prejudicial labor practices, and a host of other difficulties concerning the republic's Indian population. With the election of Juan José Arévalo a more official sanction was given these decisions of the military junta.

With the creation of the Instituto Indigenista Nacional Guatemalteca in 1945, Guatemala became yet another Latin American republic officially recognizing the presence of the Indian problem and expressing their resolve to do something about it. This commitment opened a new era as far as indigenismo was concerned. The entire issue of the Indian would now be discussed, studied, and dealt with through an official organ of the government. Headed by Antonio Goubaud Carrera and enthusiastically supported by some of Guatemala's leading intellectuals and professionals, the Instituto during the Arévalo years became a focal point for indigenista thought and activity. A number of programs and rural investigations were initiated to gather scientific data relating to the republic's rural Indians. Carefully directed community studies pro-

vided the foundation from which local economic and educational programs were developed. The Instituto's encouragement during these years of the production of tejidos by Indian craftsmen and the organization of cooperatives of various types represented decisions of far-reaching importance for the Indian.

The Instituto's activities, however, were not restricted to studies of rural communities. Certainly one of the major obstacles facing any desire to integrate the Indians of the republic was a variety of quite different Indian languages used throughout the republic. Communication was difficult at best. Through concerted efforts and the assistance of North American linguists, alphabets were devised for these languages and literacy programs were generated in which these languages were used as the base of familiarity from which Indian students could become literate in Spanish. Beyond these activities, the Instituto maintained a close contact with the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, directed a scholarly journal, translated official legislation pertaining to Indians, trained rural school teachers and other officials, provided technical assistance to local agricultural cooperatives, and functioned as an official organ of the government to preserve, protect, and disseminate the Indian heritage of Guatemala.

During the first few years of the revolutionary decade following the fall of Ubico, the Instituto Indigenista was not alone as an agency displaying indigenista thought and action. The Arévalo government con-

sidered the Indian problem to be one of top national priority, the most important national domestic problem. In President Arévalo's view, a central issue within the Indian problem was the lack of a viable system of education. Effective and productive participation by the Indians in the national economy, thought many arevalistas and indigenistas, depended upon the ability of the Indian to communicate. Education was seen as one of the keys to solving the Indian dilemma. Through several national illiteracy campaigns in largely Indian areas, thousands of Indian students became literate in Spanish using texts especially designed to benefit and interest them. A new rural school system was established wherein especially trained teachers offerred a curriculum emphasizing topics of immediate interest to rural Indian communities such as agriculture, sanitation, animal husbandry, and a host of other topics.

To complement these efforts, the Arévalo government created a series of educational institutions designed to initiate an effective national educational program. These included nucleos escolares campesinos, which provided as often as possible a curriculum tailored to the needs of the surrounding Indian community. Regional rural normal schools and escuelas tipo federación were established to offer similar types of curricula. For the first time in the history of the republic, pragmatic and meaningful rural education became available to many Indian areas which, in effect, sought to facilitate integration. Through new programs

in education, a new Work Code, the Instituto Indigenista, and several other measures, the Arévalo regime committed a considerable portion of its efforts domestically toward the integration of the Indians of the republic.

Fortunately for the cause of indigenismo, Arévalo's departure from office did not bring an end to the legislative programs begun on behalf of the Indians. The new president, Jacobo Arbenz, remained faithful to the policies of his predecesor. The Instituto Indigenista became more active in a variety of rural programs aimed toward benefiting Indian communities such as potable water projects, public sanitary facilities, and many others. Several hundred new rural schools were opened during the Arbenz years. Adult education programs were implemented and vocational and secondary schools were expanded significantly. As an indigenista Arbenz, however, felt that one particular part of the Indian problem represented a fundamental issue that had to be resolved before any real social or economic progress could be expected.

For Arbenz land reform represented a major obstacle to be overcome if effective and lasting integration was to take place. In 1952 Decree 900, an Agrarian Reform Law, was passed into law and designed to liquidate the feudal practice of latifundismo and absentee ownership. By parcelization, the Indian agriculturalists would be able to farm their own land. A rather complicated law in some respects,

Decree 900 brought far-reaching results. Throughout his regime, Arbenz saw over 48,000 Guatemalan agriculturalists affected by the law as often untilled tracts, municipal lands, German owned properties, and latifundias were expropriated and divided. The fundamental need of the Indian, land, was being provided to him by Arbenz's agrarian reform law.

The dream of a Guatemala comprised of independent Indian farmers and laborers who had been educated and integrated into a national conglomerate of existence which was free of prejudice and exploitation was crushed with the fall of Arbenz. Also the drive and commitment behind indigenismo ended with this event. Indigenismo with the new Castillo Armas regime came to be regarded, like many other of Arbenz's policies, as tainted with or related to Communism. Indigenismo, however, was not destroyed with the counterrevolution in 1953. In time the Instituto Indigenista Nacional was restored by the Castillo Armas government and ordered to function again as an organ of the government in combating the Indian problem. What was lost with the ending of the revolutionary decade was the degree of enthusiasm and commitment to indigenismo and the conviction that integration and the solution to the Indian problem were the same thing, future social progress and economic development being fundamentally related to this integration.

Since the colonial era, the Indian in Guatemala has represented a non-participating majority in the population. The social, political, and

economic life of the republic seldom included him or his culture for any reasonable period of time. Although efforts by a variety of individuals including Bartolomé de Las Casas, Alonso Lopez de Carrato, Mariano Gálvez, José María Reina Barrios, and others succeeded in pointing out the Indian problem and instigating government programs to protect and to benefit him, these seldom endured much past their initial stages. However, the revolutionary governments of Juan José Arévalo and Jacobo Arbenz were successful in altering this trend. The indigenista point of view, philosophically, ideologically, and pragmatically was manifested in a variety of educational and economic government-directed programs and institutionalized as an official government agency.

Although tremendous strides were made during this period in solving many aspects of the Indian problem and in giving national attention and expression to many of the goals of indigenismo, the Indian problem continued to constitute a very serious national problem in 1954. Indigenismo, nevertheless, had offered in Guatemala an avenue that could lead to change and social progress and had been instrumental in providing an explanation of Guatemala's identity. In neither case, however, has it succeeded.

The Indian's future role in the republic continues to be a hotly debated question. A Guatemala in which the Indian is socially, politically, and economically integrated remains a situation yet to be achieved.

Indigenismo will continue to be a half-way house, to borrow Eric Wolf's phrase, as long as an uncertain economy, an exploding population, and an unstable political system continue to exclude or inhibit the Indian majority from effective participation in the life of the nation.

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